
CHARLES SECOND


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Bishop BURNET'S
HISTORY
Of his own time.

VOL. III.

CONTAINING,

The Hiſtory of the Reign of K. JAMES II. to the Settlement of K. WILLIAM and Q. MARY on the Throne, in 1689.

With an Alphabetical Index to the three Volumes.

LONDON,
Printed for the Company of Bookſellers.
M. DCC. XXV.

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TABLE
OF THE CONTENTS
Of the third Volume.

BOOK IV.

Of the Reign of King *James* the Second.

A Reign happily begun, but inglorious all over. 1025
The King's first education. 1026
He learned war under *Turenne*. 1028
He was Admiral of *England*. *ibid.*
He was proclaimed King. 1029
His first speech. *ibid.*
Well received. 1030
Addresses made to him. *ibid.*
The Earl of *Rochester* made Lord Treasurer. 1031
The Earl of *Sunderland* in favour. *ibid.*
Customs and Excise levied against Law. 1032
The King's coldness to those who had been for the Exclusion. 1034
He seem'd to be on equal terms with the *French* King. *ibid.*
The King's course of life. 1036
The Prince of *Orange* sent away the Duke of *Monmouth*. *ibid.*
Some in *England* began to move for him. 1037
Strange practices in elections of Parliament men. 1038
Evil prospect from an ill Parliament. 1039

The Prince of *Orange* ſubmits in every thing to the King. 1041
The King was crown'd. 1042
I went out of *England*. 1043
Argile deſigned to invade *Scotland*. 1044
The Duke of *Monmouth* forc'd upon an illtimed invaſion. 1045
Theſe deſigns carried on with great ſecrecy. 1048
Argile landed in *Scotland*. *ibid.*
But was defeated, and taken. 1049
Argile's execution. 1050
Rumbold at his death denied the *Rye Plot*. 1052
A Parliament in *Scotland*. 1053
Granted all that the King deſired. 1055
Severe laws paſſed. 1056
Oates convicted of perjury. 1057
And cruelly whipt. 1058
Dangerfield kill'd. *ibid.*
A Parliament in *England*. 1059
Grants the revenue for life. *ibid.*
And truſts to the King's promiſe. *ibid.*
The Parliament was violent. 1061
The Lords were more cautious. 1062
The Duke of *Monmouth* landed at *Lime*. 1063
An Act of attainder paſſed againſt him. 1064
A rabble came and joined him. 1065
Lord *Grey*'s cowardice. *ibid.*
The Earl of *Feverſham* commanded the King's army. 1067
The Duke of *Monmouth* defeated. 1069
And taken. *ibid.*
Soon after executed. 1070
He died with great calmneſs. 1072
Lord *Grey* pardoned. 1073
The King was lifted up with his ſucceſſes. 1074
But it had an ill effect on his affairs. *ibid.*
Great cruelties committed by his ſoldiers. 1075
And much greater by *Jefferies*. 1075
With which the King was well pleaſed. 1076

The

CONTENTS.

The execution of two women. 1076
The behaviour of those who suffered. 1080
The Nation much changed by this management. 1081
Great disputes for and against the Tests. 1082
Some change their Religion. 1083
The Duke of *Queensberry* disgraced. 1084
The King declared against the Tests. 1085
Proceedings in *Ireland*. 1086
The persecution in *France*. 1087
A fatal year to the Protestant Religion. 1088
Ruvigny's behaviour. 1089
He came over to *England*. 1091
Dragoons sent to live on discretion upon the Protestants. 1093
Many of them yielded thro' fear. *ibid.*
Great cruelty every where. 1094
I went into *Italy*. 1096
And was well received at *Rome*. 1097
Cardinal *Howard*'s freedom with me. 1098
Cruelties in *Orange*. 1100
Another Session of Parliament. 1101
The King's speech against the Test. 1102
Jefferies made Lord Chancellor. 1104
The House of Commons address the King for observing the Law. 1105
The King much offended with it. 1106
The Parliament prorogued. 1107
The Lord *De la mere* tried and acquitted. 1108

1686.

A trial upon the Act for the Test. 1110
Many Judges turned out. 1111
Herbert, Chief Justice, gives judgment for the King's dispensing power. *ibid.*
Admiral *Herbert*'s firmness. 1114
Father *Petre*, a Jesuite, in high favour. 1115
The King declared for a toleration. *ibid.*

The Clergy managed the points of controverſy with great zeal and ſucceſs. 1117
The perſons chiefly engaged in this. 1118
Dr. *Sharp* in trouble. 1119
The Biſhop of *London* required to ſuſpend him. 1120
Which he could not obey. *ibid.*
An Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion ſet up. 1121
The Biſhop of *London* brought before it. 1122
And was ſuſpended by it. 1124
Affairs in *Scotland.* 1125
A tumult at *Edenburgh.* 1126
A Parliament held there. 1127
Whitford's life & death. *ibid.*
Sibbald's change & return. 1127
The Parliament complys not with the King's deſires. 1129
A zeal in *Scotland* againſt Popery. 1130
Affairs in *Ireland.* 1131
The King made his Miſtreſs Counteſs of *Dorcheſter.* 1132
Attempts made on many to change their religion. 1134
Particularly on the Earl of *Rocheſter.* 1135
He was turned out. 1137
Deſigns talked of againſt *Holland.* 1138
I ſtaid ſome time at *Geneva.* *ibid.*
The ſtate and temper I obſerved among the Reformed. 1140
I was invited by the Prince of *Orange* to come to the *Hague.* 1142
A character of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange.* 1145
I was much truſted by them. 1147
The Prince's ſenſe of our affairs. 1148
The Princeſs's reſolution with reſpect to the Prince. 1150
Fox ſent over to treat with the Prince. 1152
Some Biſhops died in *England.* 1154

Pearſon and *Fell.* 1154
Ward's dotage. 1155
Parker's character. 1156
Cartwright, and *Parker* promoted. *ibid.*
The King's letter refuſed in *Cambridge.* 1159
The Vice Chancellor turn'd out by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. 1160
An attempt to impoſe a Popiſh Preſident on *Magdalen* College. 1162
They diſobey, and are cenſured for it. 1163

1687.

And were all turned out. 1165
The Diſſenters much courted by the King. 1166
Debates and reſolutions among them. 1168
The Army encamped at *Honſlow-Heath.* 1169
An Embaſſador ſent to *Rome.* 1170
He managed every thing unhappily. 1171
Pope *Innocent*'s character. 1174
Diſputes about the Franchiſes. 1175
Queen *Chriſtina*'s character of ſome Popes. 1177
D'Albeville ſent Envoy to *Holland.* 1178
I was upon the King's preſſing inſtances forbid to ſee the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange.* *ibid.*
Dykvelt ſent to *England.* 1179
The negotiations between the King and the Prince. 1181
A letter writ by the Jeſuites of *Liege*, that diſcovers the King's deſigns. 1184
Dykvelt's conduct in *England.* 1185
A proclamation of indulgence ſent to *Scotland* which was much cenſured. 1187
A declaration for toleration in *England.* 1189
Addreſſes made upon it. 1190
The King's indignation againſt the Church party. 1192
The Parliament was diſſolved. 1194

The reception of the Pope's Nuntio. 1194
The King made a progreſs thro' many parts of *England*. 1195
A change of the Magiſtracy in *London*, and over *England*. 1196
Queſtions put about elections of Parliament. 1199
The King wrote to the Princeſs of *Orange* about religion. 1201
Which ſhe anſwered. 1205
Reflections on thoſe letters. 1210
A proſecution ſet on againſt me. 1211

1688.

Albeville's memorial to the States. 1215
The State anſwer to what related to me. 1218
Other deſigns againſt me. 1219
Penſioner *Fagel*'s and M. *Stewart*'s letters. 1221
Father *Petre* made a Privy Counſellor. 1224
The Confidence of the Jeſuites. 1225
The Penſioner's letter was printed. 1226
The King asked the regiments of his ſubjects in the States Service. 1227
Which was refuſed, but the Officers had leave to go. 1228
A new Declaration for toleration. 1229
Which the Clergy were ordered to read. 1231
To which they would not give obedience. 1233
The Archbiſhop & ſix Biſhops petition the King. 1234
The King ordered the Biſhops to be proſecuted for it. 1238
They were ſent to the Tower. 1239
But ſoon after diſcharged. 1240
They were tried. *ibid.*
And acquitted. 1243
To the great joy of the Town and Nation. 1244
The Clergy was next deſigned againſt. *ibid.*
The effect this had every where. 1245

CONTENTS.

Russel pressed the Prince. 1247
The Prince's answer. 1248
The Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s death. *ibid.*
The Queen gave out that she was with child. 1252
The Queen's reckoning changed. 1256
The Queen said to be in labour. 1257
And delivered of a son. 1258
Great grounds of jealousy appeared. 1259
The child, as was believed, died, and another was put in his room. 1261
The Prince and Princess of *Orange* sent to congratulate. 1262
The Prince designs an expedition to *England*. 1263
Sunderland advised more moderate proceedings. 1264
And turned Papist. *ibid.*
The Prince of *Orange* treats with some of the Princes of the Empire. 1267
The affairs of *Colen*. 1269
Cardinal *Furstemberg*. 1270
Contests between *France* and *Rome*. 1271
Pr. *Clement* of *Bavaria* made Elector of *Collen*. 1273
Herbert came over to *Holland*. 1276
The advices from *England*. 1277
The Lord *Mondaunt*'s character. *ibid.*
The Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s character. *ibid.*
Russel's character. 1278
Sidney's character. 1279
Many engaged in the design. 1280
Earl of *Nottingham*. *ibid.*
Lord *Churchill*'s character. 1281
The court of *France* gave the alarm. 1284
Recruits from *Ireland* refused. 1285
Offers made by the *French*. 1286
Not entertain'd at that time. 1287
The *French* own an alliance with the King. 1288

Sir

Sir *William Trumbal*'s character. 1289
The ſtrange conduct of *France*. 1290
A manifeſto of war againſt the Empire. 1291
Reflections made upon it. 1293
Another againſt the Pope. 1295
Cenſures that paſt upon it. 1296
Marſhal *Schomberg* ſent to *Cleve*. 1298
The *Dutch* fleet at ſea. 1299
The Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration. 1300
I was deſired to go with the Prince. 1302
Advices from *England*. 1303
Artifices to cover the deſign. 1305
The *Dutch* put to ſea. 1308
Some factious motions at the Hague. *ibid.*
The army was ſhipped. 1311
The Princeſs's ſenſe of things. 1312
The Prince took leave of the States. *ibid.*
We ſailed out of the *Maes*. 1313
But were forced back. 1314
Conſultations in *England*. 1315
Proofs brought for the birth of the Prince of *Wales*. 1317
We ſailed out more happily a ſecond time. 1322
We landed at *Torbay*. 1324
The King's Army began to come over to the Prince. 1328
An Aſſociation among thoſe who came to the Prince. 1331
The Heads in *Oxford* ſent to him. 1333
Great diſorders in *London*. *ibid.*
A treaty begun with the Prince. 1334
The King left the Kingdom. 1336
He is much cenſured. 1338
But is brought back. 1339
The Prince is deſired to come and take the government into his hands. 1341
Different advices given to the Prince concerning the King's perſon. 1342

The

CONTENTS.

The Prince came to *London*, and the King went to *Rocheſter*. 1347
The Prince was welcomed by all ſorts of people. 1350
Conſultations about the Settlement of the Nation. *ibid.*
The King went over to *France*. 1352
The affairs of *Scotland*. *ibid.*
The affairs of *Ireland*. 1355

1689.

The Prince in treaty with the Earl of *Tyrconnel*. 1358
The Convention met. 1361
Some are for a Prince Regent. 1362
Some are for another King. 1366
Original of *Magna Charta*. 1367
Some againſt a Regency. 1368
Some moved to examine the birth of the Prince of *Wales*. 1374
But it was rejected. 1375
Some were for making the Prince King. 1376
The Prince declared his mind after long ſilence. 1380
It was reſolved to put the Prince and Princeſs both in the Throne. 1382
They drew an inſtrument about it. 1385
The Oaths were altered. 1386
The ill ſenſe that was put on the new Oath. 1388
The Princeſs came to *England*. 1390
The Concluſion. 1391

End of the Table of the third Volume.

ER-

ERRATA.

Pag. 1176. l. 12. *read*, it had been
P. 1193. l. 13. *r.* that had been driven on for many
P. 1221. l. 14. *r.* him to come over, for he had been
P. 1256. l. 12. *r.* to go to the Bath
P. 1291. *at the end*, *r.* that fell to her by
P. 1305. l. 3. *r.* of dividing his fleet
P. 1323. l. 7. *r.* if he could land

BRITISH
6 JA 76
MUSEUM

THE

THE HISTORY OF MY OWN TIMES.

BOOK IV.

Of the Reign of King JAMES II.

I AM now to profecute this work; and to give the relation of an inglorious and unprofperous Reign, that was begun with great advantages: But theſe were ſo poorly managed, and ſo ill improved, that bad deſigns were ill laid, and worſe conducted; and all came in concluſion under one of the ſtrangeſt cataſtrophe's that is in any hiſtory. A great King with ſtrong Armies, and mighty Fleets, a vaſt treaſure, and powerfull Allies, fell all at once: And his whole ſtrength, like a ſpider's web, was ſo irrecoverably broken with a touch, that he was never able to retrieve, what for want both of judgment and heart he threw up in a day. Such an unexpected re-

A reign happily begun, but inglorious all over.

volution deserves to be well opened: I will do it as fully as I can. But, having been beyond sea almost all this Reign, many small particulars, that may well deserve to be remembred, may have escaped me: Yet as I had good opportunities to be well informed, I will pass over nothing that seems of any importance to the opening such great and unusual transactions. I will endeavour to watch over my pen with more than ordinary caution, that I may let no sharpness, from any ill usage I my self met with, any way possess my thoughts, or biass my mind. On the contrary, the sad fate of this unfortunate Prince will make me the more tender in not aggravating the errors of his Reign. As to my own particular, I will remember how much I was once in his favour, and how highly I was obliged to him. And as I must let his designs and miscarriages be seen, so I will open things as fully as I can, that it may appear on whom we ought to lay the chief load of them: Which indeed ought to be chiefly charged on his Religion, and on those who had the management of his conscience, his Priests, and his *Italian* Queen; which last had hitherto acted a popular part with great artifice and skill, but came now to take off the mask, and to discover her self.

The King's first education.

THIS Prince was much neglected in his childhood, during the time he was under his Father's care. The Parliament, getting him into their hands, put him under the Earl of *Northumberland*'s government, who, as the Duke himself told me, treated him with great res-

respect, and a very tender regard. When he escaped out of their hands, by means of Coll. *Bamfield*, his Father writ to him a letter in cypher, concluding in these plain words, *Do this as you expect the blessing of your loving Father.* This was sent to *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, but came after he had made his escape; & so I found it among his papers: And I gave it to the Duke of *York* in the year 1674. He said to me, he believed he had his Father's cypher among his papers, and that he would try to decypher the letter: But I believe he never did it. I told him, I was confident, that as the letter was writ when his escape was under consideration, so it contained an order to go to the Queen, and to be obedient to her in all things, except in matters of Religion. The King appointed Sir *John Berkeley*, afterwards Lord *Berkeley*, to be his Governor. It was a strange choice, if it was not that, in such a want of men who stuck to the King as was then, there were few capable in any sort of such a trust. *Berkeley* was bold and insolent, and seemed to lean to Popery: He was certainly very arbitrary, both in his temper and notions. The Queen took such a particular care of this Prince, that he was soon observed to have more of her favour than either of his two brothers: And she was so set on making Proselytes, hoping that *to save a soul would cover a multitude of sins*, that it is not to be doubted but she used more than ordinary arts to draw him over to her Religion. Yet, as he himself told me, he stood out against her practices.

He learned war under *Turenne.*

DURING his ſtay in *France* he made ſome Campaigns under Mr. *de Turenne*, who took him ſo particularly under his care, that he inſtructed him in all that he undertook, and ſhewed him the reaſons of every thing he did, ſo minutely, that he had great advantages by being formed under the greateſt General of the age. *Turenne* was ſo much taken with his application, and the heat that he ſhewed, that he recommended him out of meaſure. He ſaid often of him: There was the greateſt Prince, and like to be the beſt General of his time. This raiſed his character ſo much, that the King was not a little eclipſed by him. Yet he quickly ran into amours and vice. And that by degrees wore out any courage that had appeared in his youth. And in the end of his life he came to loſe the reputation of a brave man and a good Captain ſo entirely, that either he was never that which flatterers gave out concerning him, or his age and affairs wrought a very unuſual change on him.

HE ſeemed to follow his mother's maxims all the while he was beyond ſea. He was the head of a party that was formed in the King's ſmall Court againſt Lord *Clarendon*. And it was believed that his applications to Lord *Clarendon*'s daughter were made at firſt on deſign to diſhonour his family, tho' ſhe had the addreſs to turn it another way.

He was Admiral of *England.*

AFTER his brother's reſtoration he applied himſelf much to the Marine, in which he arrived at great skill, and brought the Fleet ſo entirely into his dependance, that even after he laid down the command he was ſtill the maſter



TURENNE.



BRITISH
6 JA 76
MUSEUM

master of our whole sea force. He had now for these last three years directed all our Counsels with so absolute an authority, that the King seemed to have left the Government wholly in his hands: Only the unlooked for bringing in the Duke of *Monmouth* put him under no small apprehensions, that at some time or other the King might slip out of his hands: Now that fear was over.

He was proclaimed King.

THE King was dead: And so all the Court went immediately and paid their duty to him. Orders were presently given for proclaiming him King. It was a heavy solemnity: Few tears were shed for the former, nor were there any shouts of joy for the present King. A dead silence, but without any disorder or tumult, followed it thro' the streets. When the Privy Counsellors came back from the proclamation, and waited on the new King, he made a short speech to them; which it seems was well considered, and much liked by him, for he repeated it to his Parliament, and upon several other occasions.

His first speech

HE began with an expostulation for the ill character that had been entertained of him. He told them, in very positive words, that he would never depart from any branch of his Prerogative: But with that he promised, that he would maintain the liberty and property of the Subject. He expressed his good opinion of the Church of *England*, as a friend to Monarchy. Therefore, he said, he would defend and maintain the Church, and would

preſerve the government in Church and State, as it was eſtabliſhed by law.

well received.

THIS ſpeech was ſoon printed, and gave great content to thoſe who believed that he would ſtick to the promiſes made in it. And thoſe few, who did not believe it, yet durſt not ſeem to doubt of it. The pulpits of *England* were full of it, and of thankſgivings for it. It was magnified as a ſecurity far greater than any that laws could give. The common phraſe was, *We have now the word of a King, and a word never yet broken.*

Addreſſes made to him.

UPON this a new ſet of Addreſſes went round *England*, in which the higheſt commendations that flattery could invent were given to the late King; and aſſurances of loyalty and fidelity were renewed to the King, in terms that ſhewed there were no jealouſies nor fears left. The Univerſity of *Oxford* in their Addreſs promiſed to obey the King *without limitations or reſtrictions*. The King's promiſe paſt for a thing ſo ſacred, that they were looked on as ill bred that put in their Addreſs, *our Religion eſtabliſhed by law*; which looked like a tie on the King to maintain it: Whereas the ſtile of the more courtly was to put all our ſecurity upon the King's promiſe. The Clergy of *London* added a word to this in their Addreſs, *our Religion eſtabliſhed by law, dearer to us than our lives*. This had ſuch an inſinuation in it, as made it very unacceptable. Some followed their pattern. But this was marked to be remembred againſt thoſe that uſed ſo menacing a form.

ALL

ALL employments were ended of course with the life of the former King. But the King continued all in their places: Only the posts in the Household were given to those who had served the King, while he was Duke of *York*. The Marquis of *Halifax* had reason to look on himself as in ill terms with the King: So in a private audience he made the best excuses he could for his conduct of late. The King diverted the discourse; and said, he would forget every thing that was past, except his behaviour in the business of the Exclusion. The King also added, that he would expect no other service of him than what was consistent with law. He prepared him for the exaltation of the Earl of *Rochester*. He said, he had served him well, and had suffered on his account; and therefore he would now shew favour to him: And the next day he declared him Lord Treasurer. His brother the Earl of *Clarendon* was made Lord Privy Seal: And the Marquis of *Halifax* was made Lord President of the Council. The Earl of *Sunderland* was looked on as a man lost at Court: And so was Lord *Godolphin*. But the former of these insinuated himself so into the Queen's confidence, that he was, beyond all peoples expectation, not only maintained in his posts, but grew into great degrees of favour.

The Earl of *Rochester* made Lord Treasurer.

THE Queen was made to consider the Earl of *Rochester* as a person that would be in the interest of the King's daughters, and united to the Church party. So she saw it was necessary to have one in a high post, who should depend wholly on her, and be entirely

The Earl of *Sunderland* in favour.

hers. And the Earl of *Sunderland* was the only perſon capable of that. The Earl of *Rocheſter* did upon his advancement become ſo violent and boiſterous, that the whole Court joined to ſupport the Earl of *Sunderland*, as the proper balance to the other. Lord *Godolphin* was put in a great poſt in the Queen's Houſehold.

Cuſtoms and Exciſe levied againſt law.

BUT before the Earl of *Rocheſter* had the White Staff, the Court engaged the Lord *Godolphin*, and the other Lords of the Treaſury, to ſend orders to the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms to continue to levy the Cuſtoms, tho' the Act that granted them to the late King was only for his life, and ſo was now determined with it. It is known, how much this matter was conteſted in King *Charles* the firſt's time, and what had paſt upon it. The legal method was to have made entries, & to have taken bonds for thoſe duties, to be paid when the Parliament ſhould meet, and renew the grant. Yet the King declared, that he would levy the Cuſtoms, and not ſtay for the new grant. But, tho' this did not agree well with the King's promiſe of maintaining liberty and property, yet it was ſaid in excuſe for it, that, if the Cuſtoms ſhould not be levied in this interval, great importations would be made, and the markets would be ſo ſtocked, that this would very much ſpoil the King's Cuſtoms. But in anſwer to this it was ſaid again, entries were to be made, and bonds taken, to be ſued when the Act granting them ſhould paſs. Endeavours were uſed with ſome of the Merchants to refuſe to pay thoſe

duties,

duties, and to diſpute the matter in *Weſtminſter-Hall*: But none would venture on ſo bold a thing. He who ſhould begin any ſuch oppoſition would probably be ruined by it: So none would run that hazard. The Earl of *Rocheſter* got this to be done before he came into the Treaſury; So he pretended, that he only held on in the courſe that was begun by others.

THE additional Exciſe had been given to the late King only for life. But there was a clauſe in the act that empowered the Treaſury to make a farm of it for three years, without adding a limiting clauſe, in caſe it ſhould be ſo long due. And it was thought a great ſtretch of the clauſe, to make a fraudulent farm, by which it ſhould continue to be levied three years after it was determined according to the letter and intendment of the act. A farm was now brought out, as made during the King's life, tho' it was well known that no ſuch farm had been made; for it was made after his death, but a falſe date was put to it. This matter ſeemed doubtful. It was laid before the Judges. And they all, except two, were of opinion that it was good in law. So two Proclamations were ordered, the one for levying the Cuſtoms, and the other for the Exciſe.

THESE came out in the firſt week of the reign, and gave a melancholy proſpect. Such beginnings did not promiſe well, and raiſed juſt fears in the minds of thoſe who conſidered the conſequences of ſuch proceedings. They ſaw, that by violence and fraud duties

were now to be levied without law. But all people were under the power of fear or flattery to such a degree, that none durst complain, and few would venture to talk of those matters.

The King's coldness to those who had been for the Exclusion.

PERSONS of all ranks went in such crouds to pay their duty to the King, that it was not easy to admit them all. Most of the Whigs that were admitted were received coldly at best. Some were sharply reproached for their past behaviour. Others were denied access. The King began likewise to say, that he would not be served as his brother had been: He would have all about him serve him without reserve, and go thorough in his business. Many were amazed to see such steps made at first. The second *Sunday* after he came to the Throne, he, to the surprize of the whole Court, went openly to Mass, & sent *Caryl* to *Rome* with letters to the Pope, but without a Character.

He seemed to be on equal terms with the *French* King.

IN one thing only the King seemed to comply with the genius of the Nation, tho' it proved in the end to be only a shew. He seemed resolved not to be governed by *French* counsels, but to act in an equality with that haughty Monarch in all things. And, as he entertained all the other foreign Ministers with assurances that he would maintain the balance of *Europe* with a more steady hand than had been done formerly; so when he sent over the Lord *Churchil* to the Court of *France* with the notice of his brother's death, he ordered him to observe exactly the ceremony and state with which he was received, that he might

treat

treat him, who ſhould be ſent over with the complement in return to that, in the ſame manner. And this he obſerved very punctually, when the Marſhal *de Lorge* came over. This was ſet about by the Courtiers as a ſign of another ſpirit, that might be looked for in a Reign ſo begun. And this made ſome impreſſion on the Court of *France*, and put them to a ſtand. But, not long after this, the *French* King ſaid to the Duke of *Villeroy*, (who told it to young *Ruvigny*, now Earl of *Galloway*, from whom I had it,) that the King of *England*, after all the high things given out in his name, was willing to take his money, as well as his brother had done.

THE King did alſo give out, that he would live in a particular confidence with the Prince of *Orange*, and the States of *Holland*. And, becauſe *Chudleigh* the Envoy there, had openly broken with the Prince, (for he not only waited no more on him, but acted openly againſt him; and once in the *Vorhaut* had affronted him, while he was driving the Princeſs upon the ſnow in a *Trainau*, according to the *German* manner; and pretending they were maſked, and that he did not know them, had ordered his coachman to keep his way, as they were coming towards the place where he drove;) the King recalled him, and ſent *Shelton* in his room, who was the haughtieſt, but withal the weakeſt man, that he could have found out. He talked out all ſecrets, and made himſelf the ſcorn of all *Holland*. The Courtiers now ſaid every where, that we had a martial Prince who loved glory, who would bring

bring *France* into as humble a dependance on us, as we had beed formerly on that Court.

The King's course of life.

THE King did, ſome days after his coming to the Crown, promiſe the Queen, and his Prieſts, that he would ſee Mrs. *Sidley* no more, by whom he had ſome children. And he ſpoke openly againſt leudneſs, and expreſſed a deteſtation of drunkenneſs. He ſate many hours a day about buſineſs with the Council, the Treaſury, and the Admiralty. It was upon this ſaid, that now we ſhould have a Reign of action and buſineſs, and not of ſloth and luxury, as the laſt was. Mrs. *Sidley* had lodgings in *Whitehall*: Orders were ſent to her to leave them. This was done to mortify her; for ſhe pretended that ſhe ſhould now govern as abſolutely as the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth* had done: Yet the King ſtill continued a ſecret commerce with her. And thus he began his Reign with ſome fair appearances. A long and great froſt had ſo ſhut up the *Dutch* ports, that for ſome weeks they had no letters from *England*: At laſt the news of the King's ſickneſs and death, and of the beginnings of the new Reign, came to them all at once.

The Prince of *Orange* ſent away the Duke of *Monmouth*.

THE firſt difficulty the Prince of *Orange* was in, was with relation to the Duke of *Monmouth*. He knew the King would immediately, after the firſt compliments were over, ask him to diſmiſs him, if not to deliver him up. And as it was no way decent for him to break with the King upon ſuch a point, ſo he knew the States would never bear it. He thought it better to diſmiſs him immediately, as of himſelf. The Duke of *Monmouth* ſeemed ſurpriſed

priſed at this. Yet at parting he made great proteſtations both to the Prince and Princeſs of an inviolable fidelity to their intereſts. So he retired to *Bruſſels*, where he knew he could be ſuffered to ſtay no longer than till a return ſhould come from *Spain*, upon the notice of King *Charles*'s death, and the declarations that the King was making of maintaining the balance of *Europe*. The Duke was upon that thinking to go to *Vienna*, or to ſome Court in *Germany*. But thoſe about him ſtudied to inflame him both againſt the King and the Prince of *Orange*. They told him, the Prince by caſting him off had cancelled all former obligations, and ſet him free from them: He was now to look to himſelf: And inſtead of wandring about as a vagabond, he was to ſet himſelf to deliver his country, and to raiſe his party and his friends, who were now like to be uſed very ill for their adhering to him and to his intereſt.

Some in *England* began to move for him.

THEY ſent one over to *England* to try mens pulſes, and to ſee if it was yet a proper time to make an attempt. *Wildman*, *Charlton*, and ſome others went about trying, if men were in a diſpoſition to encourage an invaſion. They talked of this in ſo remote a way of ſpeculation, that tho' one could not but ſee what lay at bottom, yet they did not run into treaſonable diſcourſe. I was in general ſounded by them: Yet nothing was propoſed that ran me into any danger from concealing it. I did not think fears and dangers, nor ſome illegal acts in the adminiſtration, could juſtify an inſurrection, as lawful in it ſelf:

And

And I was confident an insurrection undertaken on such grounds would be so ill seconded, and so weakly supported, that it would not only come to nothing, but it would precipitate our ruin. Therefore I did all I could to divert all persons with whom I had any credit from engaging in such designs. These were for some time carried on in the dark. The King, after he had put his affairs in a method, resolved to hasten his Coronation, and to have it performed with great magnificence: And for some weeks he was so entirely possessed with the preparations for that solemnity, that all business was laid aside, and nothing but ceremony was thought on.

Strange practices in elections of Parliament men.

AT the same time a Parliament was summoned: And all arts were used to manage elections so, that the King should have a Parliament to his mind. Complaints came up from all the parts of *England* of the injustice and violence used in Elections, beyond what had ever been practised in former times. And this was so universal over the whole Nation, that no corner of it was neglected. In the new Charters that had been granted, the election of the members was taken out of the hands of the inhabitants, and restrained to the Corporation men, all those being left out who were not acceptable at Court. In some Boroughs they could not find a number of men to be depended on: So the neighbouring Gentlemen were made the Corporation men: And, in some of these, persons of other Counties, not so much as known in the Borough, were named. This was practised in the most

avowed

avowed manner in *Cornwall* by the Earl of *Bath*; who to ſecure himſelf the Groom of the Stole's place, which he held all King *Charles*'s time, put the Officers of the Guards names in almoſt all the Charters of that County; which ſending up forty four members, they were for moſt part ſo choſen, that the King was ſure of their votes on all occaſions.

THESE methods were ſo ſucceſsful over *England*, that when the elections were all returned, the King ſaid, there were not above forty members, but ſuch as he himſelf wiſhed for. They were neither men of parts nor eſtates: So there was no hope left, either of working on their underſtandings, or of making them ſee their intereſt, in not giving the King all at once. Moſt of them were furious and violent, and ſeemed reſolved to recommend themſelves to the King by putting every thing in his power, and by ruining all thoſe who had been for the Excluſion. Some few had deſigned to give the King the revenue only from three years to three years. The Earl of *Rocheſter* told me, that was what he looked for, tho' the poſt he was in made it not ſo proper for him to move in it. But there was no proſpect of any ſtrength in oppoſing any thing that the King ſhould ask of them.

Evil proſpect from a bad Parliament.

This gave all thinking men a melancholy proſpect. *England* now ſeemed loſt, unleſs ſome happy accident ſhould ſave it. All people ſaw the way for packing a Parliament now laid open. A new ſet of Charters and Corporation-men, if thoſe now named ſhould not conti-

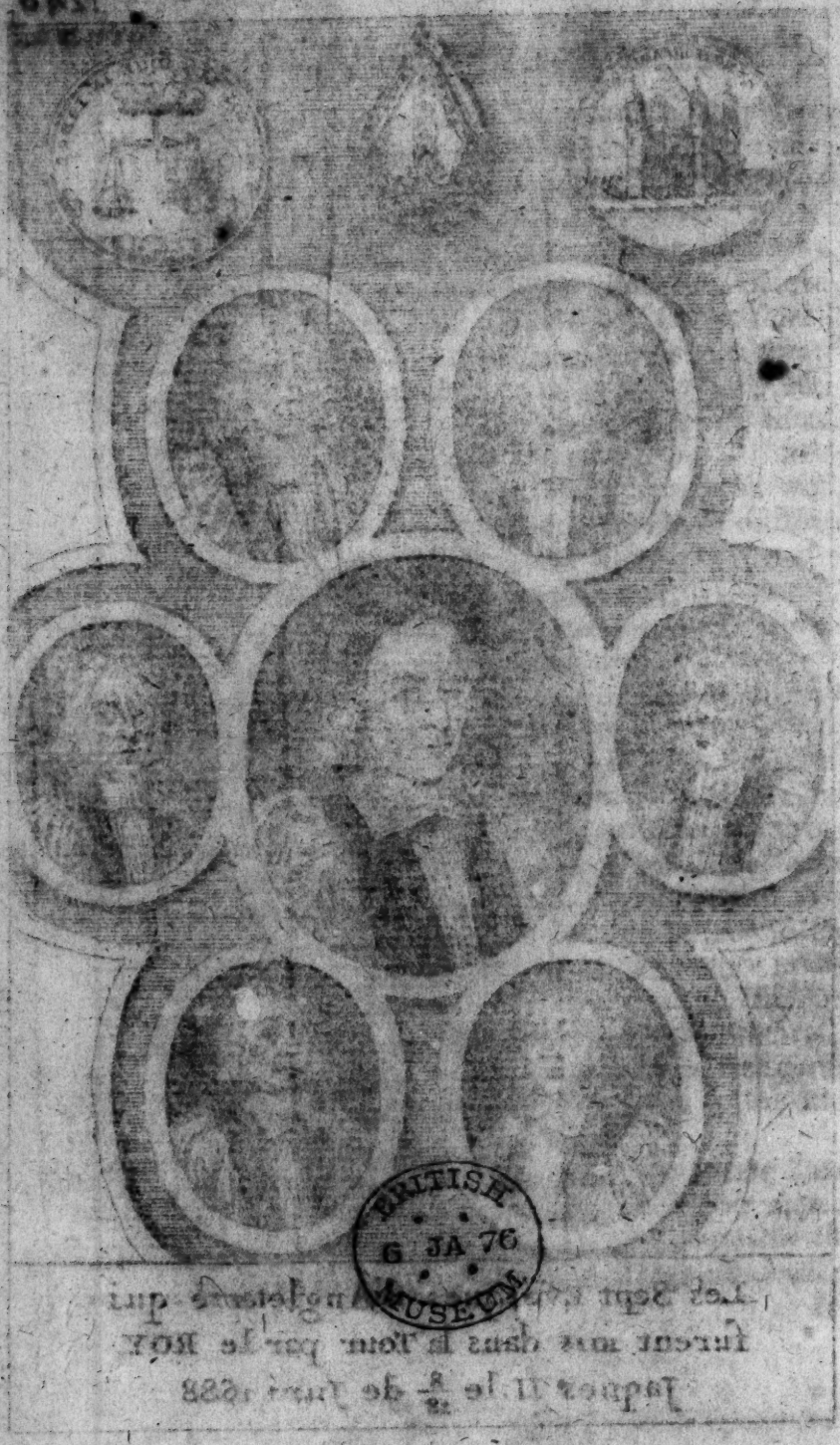
continue to be ſtill as compliant as they were at preſent, was a certain remedy, to which recourſe might be eaſily had. The Boroughs of *England* ſaw their privileges now wreſted out of their hands, and that their elections, which had made them ſo conſiderable before, were hereafter to be made as the Court ſhould direct: So that from henceforth little regard would be had to them; and the uſual practices in courting, or rather in corrupting them, would be no longer purſued. Thus all people were alarmed; but few durſt ſpeak out, or complain openly. Only the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Agents made great uſe of this to inflame their party. It was ſaid, here was a Parliament to meet, that was not the choice and repreſentative of the Nation, and therefore was no Parliament. So they upon this poſſeſſed all people with dreadful apprehenſions that a blow was now given to the Conſtitution, which could not be remedied, but by an inſurrection. It was reſolved to bring up petitions againſt ſome Elections, that were ſo indecently managed that it ſeemed ſcarce poſſible to excuſe them: But theſe were to be judged by a majority of men, who knew their own Elections to be ſo faulty, that to ſecure themſelves they would juſtify the reſt: And fair dealing was not to be expected from thoſe, who were ſo deeply engaged in the like injuſtice.

ALL that was offered on the other hand to lay thoſe fears, which ſo ill an appearance did raiſe, was, that it was probable the King would go into meaſures againſt *France*.

All



Les Sept Evesques d'Angleterre qui furent mis dans la Tour par le ROY Jaques II. le $\frac{8}{18}$ de Juni 1688



BRITISH
6 JA 76
MUSEUM

All the offers of ſubmiſſion poſſible were made him by *Spain*, the Empire, and the States.

THE King had begun with the Prince of *Orange* upon a hard point. He was not ſatisfied with his diſmiſſing the Duke of *Monmouth*, but wrote to him to break all thoſe Officers who had waited on him while he was in *Holland*. In this they had only followed the Prince's example: So it was hard to puniſh them for that, which he himſelf had encouraged. They had indeed ſhewed their affections to him ſo evidently, that the King wrote to the Prince, that he could not truſt to him, nor depend on his friendſhip, as long as ſuch men ſerved under him. This was of a hard digeſtion. Yet, ſince the breaking them could be eaſily made up by employing them afterwards, and by continuing their appointments to them, the Prince complied in this likewiſe. And the King was ſo well pleaſed with it, that when Biſhop *Turner* complained of ſome things relating to the Prince and Princeſs, and propoſed rouger methods, the King told him, it was abſolutely neceſſary that the Prince and he ſhould continue in good correſpondence. Of this *Turner* gave an account to the other Biſhops, and told them very ſolemnly, that the Church would be in no hazard during the preſent Reign; but that they muſt take care to ſecure themſelves againſt the Prince of *Orange*, otherwiſe they would be in great danger. The Prince of *Orange* ſubmits in every thing to the King.

THE ſubmiſſion of the Prince and the States to the King made ſome fancy, that this

would overcome him. All people concluded, that it would ſoon appear whether bigotry, or a deſire of glory was the prevailing paſſion; ſince if he did not ſtrike in with an alliance that was then projected againſt *France*, it might be concluded that he was reſolved to deliver himſelf up to his Prieſts, and to ſacrifice all to their ends. The ſeaſon of the year made it to be hoped, that the firſt ſeſſion of Parliament would be ſo ſhort that much could not be done in it, but that when the revenue ſhould be granted, other matters might be put off to a winter ſeſſion. So that, if the Parliament ſhould not deliver up the Nation in a heat all at once, but ſhould leave half their work to another ſeſſion, they might come under ſome management, and either ſee the intereſt of the Nation in general, or their own in particular; and ſo manage their favours to the Court in ſuch a manner as to make themſelves neceſſary, and not to give away too much at once, but be ſparing in their bounty; which they had learned ſo well in King *Charles*'s time, that it was to be hoped they would ſoon fall into it, if they made not too much haſte at their firſt ſetting out. So it was reſolved not to put them on too haſtily in their firſt ſeſſion to judge of any election, but to keep that matter entire for ſome time, till they ſhould break into parties.

The King was crowned.

THE Coronation was ſet for St. *George*'s day. *Turner* was ordered to preach the ſermon: And both King and Queen reſolved to have all done in the Proteſtant form, and to

aſſiſt

assist in all the prayers: Only the King would not receive the Sacrament, which is always a part of the ceremony. In this certainly his Priests dispensed with him, and he had such senses given him of the oath, that he either took it as a sin with a resolution not to keep it, or he had a reserved meaning in his own mind. The Crown was not well fitted for the King's head: It came down too far, and covered the upper part of his face. The canopy carried over him did also break. Some other smaller things happen'd that were looked on as ill omens; And his son by Mrs. *Sidley* died that day. The Queen with the Peeresses made a more graceful figure. The best thing in *Turner*'s Sermon was, that he set forth that part of *Constantius Chlorus*'s history very handsomely, in which he tried who would be true to their Religion, and reckoned that those would be faithfullest to himself who were truest to their God.

I MUST now say somewhat concerning my self. At this time I went out of *England*. Upon King *Charles*'s death, I had desired leave to come and pay my duty to the King, by the Marquis of *Halifax*. The King would not see me. So, since I was at that time in no sort of employment, not so much as allowed to preach any where, I resolved to go abroad. I saw we were like to fall into great confusion; and were either to be rescued, in a way that I could not approve of, by the Duke of *Monmouth*'s means, or to be delivered up by a meeting that had the face and name of a Parliament. I thought the best thing for

I went out of England.

me was to go out of the way. The King approved of this, and conſented to my going: But ſtill refuſed to ſee me. So I was to go beyond ſea, as to a voluntary Exile. This gave me great credit with all the male-contents: And I made the beſt uſe of it I could. I ſpoke very earneſtly to the Lord *Delamere*, to Mrs. *Hambden*, and ſuch others as I could meet with, who I feared might be drawn in by the agents of the Duke of *Monmouth*. The King had not yet done that which would juſtify extream counſels. A raw Rebellion would be ſoon cruſhed, and give a colour for keeping up a ſtanding Army, or for bringing over a force from *France*. I perceived, many thought the conſtitution was ſo broken into by the elections of the Houſe of Commons, that they were diſpoſed to put all to hazard. Yet moſt people thought the criſis was not ſo near, as it proved to be.

Argile deſigned to invade *Scotland*.

THE deliberations in *Holland*, among the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* that fled thither, came to ripen faſter than was expected. Lord *Argile* had been quiet ever ſince the diſappointment in the year eighty three. He had lived for moſt part in *Frizeland*, but came oft to *Amſterdam*, and met with the reſt of his Countrymen that lay concealed there: The chief of whom were the Lord *Melvill*, Sir *Patrick Hume*, and Sir *John Cochran*. With theſe Lord *Argile* communicated all the advices that were ſent him. He went on ſtill with his firſt project. He ſaid, he wanted only a ſum of money to buy arms, and reckoned, that as ſoon as he was furniſhed with theſe, he might venture on *Scotland*.

Scotland. He reſolved to go to his own country, where he hoped he could bring five thouſand men together. And he reckoned that the *Weſtern* and *Southern* Counties were under ſuch apprehenſions, that without laying of matters, or having correſpondence among them, they would all at once come about him, when he had gathered a good force together in his own country. There was a rich widow in *Amſterdam*, who was full of zeal: So ſhe, hearing at what his deſigns ſtuck, ſent to him, and furniſhed him with ten thouſand pounds. With this money he bought a ſtock of arms and ammunition, which was very dextrouſly managed by one that traded to *Venice*, as intended for the ſervice of that Republick. All was performed with great ſecrecy, and put on board. They had ſharp debates among them about the courſe they were to hold. He was for ſailing round *Scotland* to his own country. *Hume* was for the ſhorter paſſage: The other was a long navigation, and ſubject to great accidents. *Argile* ſaid, the faſtneſſes of his own country made that to be the ſafer place to gather men together. He preſumed ſo far on his own power, and on his management hitherto, that he took much upon him: So that the reſt were often on the point of breaking with him.

The Duke of *Monmouth* forced on an ill-timed invaſion.

THE Duke of *Monmouth* came ſecretly to them, and made up all their quarrels. He would willingly have gone with them himſelf: But *Argile* did not offer him the command: On the contrary he preſſed him to make an im-

impreſſion on *England* at the ſame time. This was not poſſible: For the Duke of *Monmouth* had yet made no preparations. So he was hurried into a fatal undertaking, before things were in any ſort ready for it. He had been indeed much preſſed to the ſame thing by *Wade*, *Ferguſon*, and ſome others about him, but chiefly by the Lord *Grey*, and the Lady *Wentworth*, who followed him to *Bruſſells* deſperately in love with him. And both he and ſhe came to fancy, that he being married to his Ducheſs while he was indeed of the age of conſent, but not capable of a free one, the marriage was null: So they lived together: And ſhe had heated both her ſelf and him with ſuch enthuſiaſtical conceits, that they fancied what they did was approved of God. With this ſmall council he took his meaſures. *Fletcher*, a *Scotch* Gentleman of great parts, and many vertues, but a moſt violent Republican, and extravagantly paſſionate, did not like *Argile*'s ſcheme: So he reſolved to run fortunes with the Duke of *Monmouth*. He told me, that all the *Engliſh* among them were ſtill preſſing the Duke of *Monmouth* to venture. They ſaid, all the Weſt of *England* would come about him, as ſoon as he appeared, as they had done five or ſix years ago. They reckoned there would be no fighting, but that the guards, and others who adhered to the King, would melt to nothing before him. They fancied, the City of *London* would be in ſuch a diſpoſition to revolt, that if he ſhould land in the Weſt the King would be in great perplexity. He could not have two Armies:

And

And his fear of tumults near his perſon would oblige him to keep ſuch a force about him, that he would not be able to ſend any againſt the Duke. So they reckoned he would have time to form an Army, and in a little while be in a condition to ſeek out the King, and fight him on equal terms.

THIS appeared a mad and deſperate undertaking to the Duke of *Monmouth* himſelf. He knew what a weak body a rabble was, and how unable to deal with troops long trained. He had neither money nor Officers, and no encouragement from the men of eſtates and intereſt in the country. It ſeemed too early yet to venture. It was the throwing away all his hopes in one day. *Fletcher*, how vehemently ſoever he was ſet on the deſign in general, yet ſaw nothing in this ſcheme that gave any hopes: So he argued much againſt it. And he ſaid to me, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was puſhed on to it againſt his own ſenſe and reaſon: But he could not refuſe to hazard his perſon, when others were ſo forward. Lord *Grey* ſaid, that *Henry* the ſeventh landed with a ſmaller number, and ſucceeded. *Fletcher* anſwered, he was ſure of ſeveral of the Nobility, who were little Princes in thoſe days. *Ferguſon* in his enthuſiaſtical way ſaid, it was a good cauſe, and that God would not leave them unleſs they left him. And tho' the Duke of *Monmouth*'s courſe of life gave him no great reaſon to hope that God would appear ſignally for him, yet even he came to talk enthuſiaſtically on the ſubject. But *Argile*'s going, and the promiſe he had made of coming

to *England* with all poſſible haſte, had ſo fixed him, that, all further deliberations being laid aſide, he pawned a parcel of jewels, and bought up arms; and they were put aboard a ſhip freighted for *Spain*.

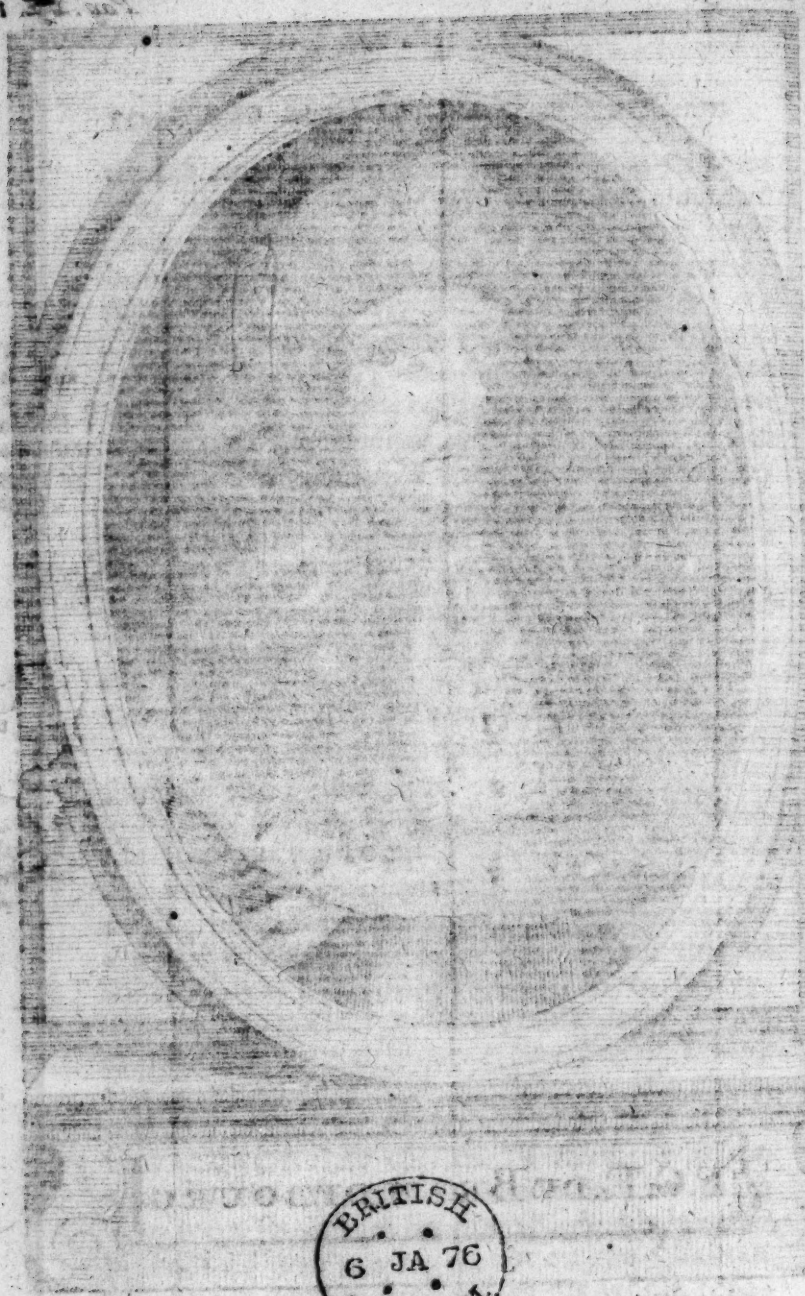
These deſigns were carried on with great ſecrecy.

KING *James* was ſo intent upon the pomp of his Coronation, that for ſome weeks more important matters were not thought on. Both *Argile* and *Monmouth*'s people were ſo true to them, that nothing was diſcovered by any of them. Yet ſome days after *Argile* had ſailed, the King knew of it: For the night before I left *London*, the Earl of *Arran* came to me, and told me, the King had an advertiſement of it that very day. I ſaw, it was fit for me to make haſte: Otherwiſe I might have been ſeized on, if it had been only to put the affront on me, of being ſuſpected of holding correſpondence with traitors.

Argile landed in *Scotland*.

ARGILE had a very proſperous voyage. He ſent out a boat at *Orkney* to get intelligence, and to take priſoners. This had no other effect, but that it gave intelligence where he was: And the wind chopping, he was obliged to ſail away, and leave his men to mercy. The winds were very favourable, and turned as his occaſions required: So that in a very few days he arrived in *Argileſhire*. The miſunderſtandings between him and *Hume* grew very high; for he carried all things with an air of authority, that was not eaſy to thoſe who were ſetting up for liberty. At his landing he found, that the early notice the Council had of his deſigns had ſpoiled his whole ſcheme; for they had brought in all the Gentlemen


F.G.E. DE BRANDEBOURG.



BRITISH
6 JA 76
MUSEUM

men of his country to *Edenburgh*, which ſaved them, tho' it helped on his ruin. Yet he got above five and twenty hundred men to come to him. If with theſe he had immediately gone over to the *Weſtern* Counties of *Air* and *Renfrew*, he might have given the Government much trouble. But he lingred too long, hoping ſtill to have brought more of his *Highlanders* together. He reckoned theſe were ſure to him, and would obey him blindfold: Whereas, if he had gone out of his own country with a ſmall force, thoſe who might have come in to his aſſiſtance might alſo have diſputed his authority: And he could not bear contradiction. Much time was by this means loſt: And all the country was ſummoned to come out againſt him. At laſt he croſſed an arm of the ſea, and landed in the Iſle of *Bute*; where he ſpent twelve days more, till he had eat up that Iſland, pretending ſtill, that he hoped to be joined by more of his *Highlanders*.

HE had left his arms in a caſtle, with ſuch a guard as he could ſpare: But they were routed by a party of the King's forces. And with this he loſt both heart and hope. And then, apprehending that all was gone, he put himſelf in a diſguiſe, and had almoſt eſcaped: But he was taken. A body of Gentlemen that had followed him ſtood better to it, and forced their way through: So that the greater part of them eſcaped. Some of theſe were taken: The chief of them were Sir *John Cochran*, *Ailoffe*, and *Rumbold*. Theſe two laſt were *Engliſhmen*: But I knew not upon what motive it was, that they choſe rather to run

But was defeated and taken.

fortunes with *Argile*, than with the Duke of *Monmouth*. Thus was this rebellion brought to a ſpeedy end, with the effuſion of very little blood. Nor was there much ſhed in the way of juſtice; for it was conſidered, that the *Highlanders* were under ſuch ties by their tenures, that it was ſomewhat excuſable in them to follow their Lord. Moſt of the Gentlemen had been brought in by order of Council to *Edenburgh*, which preſerved them. One of thoſe that were with *Argile*, by a great preſence of mind, got to *Carlile*, where he called for poſt horſes; and ſaid, he was ſent by the General to carry the good news by word of mouth to the King. And ſo he got to *London*: And there he found a way to get beyond ſea.

Argile's execution.

ARGILE was brought in to *Edenburgh*. He expreſſed even a cheerful calm under all his misfortunes. He juſtified all he had done: For, he ſaid, he was unjuſtly attainted: That had diſſolved his allegiance: So it was juſtice to himſelf and his family, to endeavour to recover what was ſo wrongfully taken from him. He alſo thought, that no allegiance was due to the King, till he had taken the oath which the law preſcribed to be taken by our Kings at their Coronation, or the receipt of their princely dignity. He deſired that Mr. *Charteris* might be ordered to attend upon him; which was granted. When he came to him, he told him he was ſatisfied in conſcience with the lawfulneſs of what he had done, and therefore deſired he would not diſturb him with any diſcourſe on that ſubject. The other, after he had told him his ſenſe of the matter,


BRITISH
6 JA 76
MUSEUM


FREDERIC I.
ROI DE PRUSSE.

matter, complied eaſily with this. So all that remained was to prepare him to die, in which he expreſſed an unſhaken firmneſs. The Duke of *Queensbury* examined him in private. He ſaid, he had not laid his buſineſs with any in *Scotland*. He had only found credit with a perſon that lent him money; upon which he had truſted, perhaps too much, to the diſpoſitions of the people, ſharpned by their adminiſtration. When the day of his execution came, Mr. *Charteris* happen'd to come to him as he was ending dinner: He ſaid to him pleaſantly, *ſerò venientibus oſſa*. He prayed often with him, and by himſelf, and went to the ſcaffold with great ſerenity. He had complained of the Duke of *Monmouth* much, for delaying his coming ſo long after him, and for aſſuming the name of King; both which, he ſaid, were contrary to their agreement at parting. Thus he died, pitied by all. His death, being purſuant to the ſentence paſt three years before, of which mention was made, was looked on as no better than murder. But his conduct in this matter was made up of ſo many errors, that it appeared he was not made for deſigns of this kind.

AILOFFE had a mind to prevent the courſe of juſtice, and having got a penknife into his hands gave himſelf ſeveral ſtabbs. And thinking he was certainly a dead man, he cried out, and ſaid, now he defied his enemies. Yet he had not pierced his guts: So his wounds were not mortal. And, it being believed that he could make great diſcoveries, he was brought up to *London*.

RUM-

Rumbold at his death denied the Rye-Plot.

RUMBOLD was he that dwelt in *Rye-Houſe*, where it was pretended the plot was laid for murdering the late and the preſent King. He denied the truth of that conſpiracy. He owned, he thought the Prince was as much tied to the people, as the people were to the Prince; and that, when a King departed from the legal meaſures of government, the people had a right to aſſert their liberties, and to reſtrain him. He did not deny, but that he had heard many propoſitions at *Weſt*'s chambers about killing the two brothers; and upon that he had ſaid, it could have been eaſily executed near his houſe; upon which ſome diſcourſe had followed, how it might have been managed. But, he ſaid, it was only talk, and that nothing was either laid, or ſo much as reſolved on. He ſaid, he was not for a Commonwealth, but for Kingly government according to the laws of *England*: But he did not think that the King has his authority by any divine right, which he expreſſed in rough, but ſignificant words. He ſaid, he did not believe that God had made the greater part of mankind with ſaddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and ſome few booted and ſpurred to ride the reſt.

COCHRAN had a rich father, the Earl of *Dundonald*: And he offered the Prieſts 5000. *l.* to ſave his ſon. They wanted a ſtock of money for managing their deſigns: So they interpoſed ſo effectually, that the bargain was made. But, to cover it, *Cochran* petitioned the Council that he might be ſent to the King; for he had ſome ſecrets of great importance, which


LA REINE MARIE


BRITISH
6 JA 76
MUSEUM

which were not fit to be communicated to any but to the King himſelf. He was upon that brought up to *London*: And, after he had been for ſome time in private with the King, the matters he had diſcovered were ſaid to be of ſuch importance, that in conſideration of that the King pardoned him. It was ſaid, he had diſcovered all their negotiations with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the Prince of *Orange*. But this was a pretence only given out to conceal the bargain; for the Prince told me, he had never once ſeen him. The ſecret of this came to be known ſoon after.

WHEN *Ailoffe* was brought up to *London*, the King examined him, but could draw nothing from him, but one ſevere repartee. He being ſullen, and refuſing to diſcover any thing, the King ſaid to him; Mr. *Ailoffe*, you know it is in my power to pardon you, therefore ſay that which may deſerve it. It was ſaid that he anſwered, that tho' it was in his power, yet it was not in his nature to pardon. He was nephew to the old Earl of *Clarendon* by marriage; for *Ailoffe*'s aunt was his firſt wife, but ſhe had no children. It was thought, that the nearneſs of his relation to the King's children might have moved him to pardon him, which would have been the moſt effectual confutation of his bold repartee: But he ſuffered with the reſt.

IMMEDIATELY after *Argile*'s execution, a Parliament was held in *Scotland*. Upon King *Charles*'s death, the Marquis of *Queensbury*, ſoon after made a Duke, and the Earl of *Perth*, came to Court. The Duke of *Queens-*

A Parliament in *Scotland*.

Queensbury told the King, that if he had any thoughts of changing the eſtabliſhed Religion, he could not make any one ſtep with him in that matter. The King ſeemed to receive this very kindly from him; and aſſured him, he had no ſuch intention, but that he would have a Parliament called, to which he ſhould go his Commiſſioner, and give all poſſible aſſurances in the matter of Religion, and get the revenue to be ſettled, and ſuch other laws to be paſt as might be neceſſary for the common ſafety. The Duke of *Queensbury* preſſed the Earl of *Perth* to ſpeak in the ſame ſtrain to the King. But, tho' he pretended to be ſtill a Proteſtant, yet he could not prevail on him to ſpeak in ſo poſitive a ſtile. I had not then left *London*: So the Duke ſent me word of this, and ſeemed ſo fully ſatisfied with it, that he thought all would be ſafe. So he prepared inſtructions by which both the revenue and the King's authority were to be carried very high. He has often ſince that time told me, that the King made thoſe promiſes to him in ſo frank and hearty a manner, that he concluded it was impoſſible for him to be acting a part. Therefore he always believed, that the Prieſts gave him leave to promiſe every thing, and that he did it very ſincerely; but that afterwards they pretended, they had a power to diſſolve the obligation of all oaths and promiſes; ſince nothing could be more open and free than his way of expreſſing himſelf was, tho' afterwards he had no ſort of regard to any of the promiſes he then made. The Teſt had been the King's own act while

he

he was in *Scotland*. So he thought, the putting that on all persons would be the most acceptable method, as well as the most effectual, for securing the Protestant Religion. Therefore he proposed an instruction obliging all people to take the Test, not only to qualify them for publick employments, but that all those to whom the Council should tender it should be bound to take it under the pain of treason: And this was granted. He also projected many other severe laws, that left an arbitrary power in the Privy Council. And, as he was naturally violent and imperious in his own temper, so he saw the King's inclinations to those methods, and hoped to have recommended himself effectually by being instrumental in setting up an absolute and despotick form of government. But he found afterwards how he had deceived himself, in thinking that any thing, but the delivering up his Religion, could be acceptable long. And he saw, after he had prepared a cruel scheme of government, other men were trusted with the management of it: And it had almost proved fatal to himself.

Granted all that the King desired.

THE Parliament of *Scotland* sat not long. No opposition was made. The Duke of *Queensbury* gave very full assurances in the point of Religion, that the King would never alter it, but would maintain it, as it was established by law. And in confirmation of them he proposed that act enjoining the Test, which was past, and was looked on as a full security; tho' it was very probable, that all the use that the Council would make of this dis-

diſcretional power lodged with them, would be only to tender the Teſt to thoſe that might ſcruple it on other accounts, but that it would be offered to none of the Church of *Rome*. In return for this the Parliament gave the King for life all the Revenue that had been given to his brother: And with that ſome additional taxes were given.

Severe laws were paſſed.

OTHER ſevere laws were alſo paſt. By one of theſe an Inquiſition was upon the matter ſet up. All perſons were required, under the pain of treaſon, to anſwer to all ſuch queſtions as ſhould be put to them by the Privy Council. This put all men under great apprehenſions, ſince upon this act an Inquiſition might have been grafted, as ſoon as the King pleaſed. Another act was only in one particular caſe: But it was a crying one, and ſo deſerves to be remembred.

WHEN *Caſtairs* was put to the torture, and came to capitulate in order to the making a diſcovery, he got a promiſe from the Council, that no uſe ſhould be made of his depoſition againſt any perſon whatſoever. He in his depoſition ſaid ſomewhat that brought under the guilt of treaſon Sir *Hugh Cambell* and his ſon, who had been taken up in *London* two years before, and were kept in priſon all this while. The Earl of *Melfort* got the promiſe of his eſtate, which was about 1000. *l.* a year, as ſoon as he ſhould be convicted of high treaſon. So an act was brought in, which was to laſt only ſix weeks; and enacted, that if within that time any of the Privy Council would depoſe that any man was proved to be

be guilty of high treaſon, he ſhould upon ſuch a proof be attainted. Upon which, as ſoon as the act was paſt, four of the Privy Council ſtood up, and affirmed that the *Cambells* were proved by *Caſtairs*'s depoſition to be guilty. Upon this both father and ſon were brought to the bar, to ſee what they had to ſay, why the ſentence ſhould not be executed. The old Gentleman, then near eighty, ſeeing the ruin of his family was determined, and that he was condemned in ſo unuſual a manner, took courage, and ſaid, the oppreſſion they had been under had driven them to deſpair, and made them think how they might ſecure their lives and fortunes: That upon this he went to *London*, and had ſome meetings with *Baillie*, and others: That one was ſent to *Scotland* to hinder all riſings: That an oath of ſecrecy was indeed offered, but was never taken upon all this. So it was pretended, he had confeſſed the crime, and by a ſhew of mercy they were pardoned: But the Earl of *Melfort* poſſeſſed himſelf of their eſtate. The old Gentleman died ſoon after. And very probably his death was haſtned by his long and rigorous impriſonment, and this unexampled concluſion of it; which was ſo univerſally condemned, that when the news of it was writ to foreign parts, it was not eaſy to make people believe it poſſible. 1685.

BUT now the ſitting of the Parliament of *England* came on. And, as a preparation to it, *Oates* was convicted of perjury, upon the evidence of the witneſſes from St. *Omer*'s, who had been brought over before to diſcre- *Oates* convicted of perjury.

1685. dit his teſtimony. Now Juries were ſo prepared, as to believe more eaſily than formerly. So he was condemned to have his Prieſtly habit taken from him, to be a priſoner for life, to be ſet on the pillory in all the publick places of the City, and ever after that to be ſet on the pillory four times a year, and to be whipt by the common hangman from *Aldgate* to *Newgate* one day, and the next from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; which was executed with ſo much rigour, that his back ſeemed to be all over flead. This was thought too little if he was guilty, and too much if innocent, and was illegal in all the parts of it: For as the ſecular Court could not order the Eccleſiaſtical habit to be taken from him, ſo to condemn a man to a perpetual impriſonment was not in the power of the Court: And the extream rigour of ſuch whipping was without a precedent. Yet he, who was an original in all things, bore this with a conſtancy that amazed all thoſe who ſaw it. So that this treatment did rather raiſe his reputation, than ſink it.

and cruelly whipt.

Danger-field killed.

AND, that I may join things of the ſame ſort together, tho' they were tranſacted at ſome diſtance of time, *Dangerfield*, another of the witneſſes in the Popiſh plot, was alſo found guilty of perjury, and had the ſame puniſhment. But it had a more terrible concluſion; for a brutal ſtudent of the law, who had no private quarrel with him, but was only tranſported with the heat of that time, ſtruck him over the head with his cane, as he got his laſt laſh. This hit him ſo fatally, that he

died

died of it immediately. The perſon was apprehended. And the King left him to the law. And, tho' great interceſſion was made for him, the King would not interpoſe. So he was hanged for it. 1685.

AT laſt the Parliament met. The King in his ſpeech repeated that, which he had ſaid to the Council upon his firſt acceſſion to the Throne. He told them, ſome might think, the keeping him low would be the ſureſt way to have frequent Parliamens: But they ſhould find the contrary, that the uſing him well would be the beſt argument to perſuade him to meet them often. This was put in to prevent a motion, which was a little talked of abroad, but none would venture on it within doors, that it was ſafeſt to grant the revenue only for a term of years. A Parliament in *England*.

THE revenue was granted for life, and every thing elſe that was asked, with ſuch a profuſion, that the Houſe was more forward to give, than the King was to ask: To which the King thought fit to put a ſtop by a meſſage, intimating that he deſired no more money that ſeſſion. And yet this forwardneſs to give in ſuch a Reign was ſet on by *Muſgrave* and others, who pretended afterwards, when money was asked for juſt and neceſſary ends, to be frugal patriots, and to be careful managers of the publick treaſure. Grants the revenue for life.

AS for Religion, ſome began to propoſe a new and firmer ſecurity to it. But all the Courtiers run out into eloquent Harangues on that ſubject: And preſſed a vote, that they took the King's word in that matter, and And truſts to the King's promiſe.

1685. would truſt to it; and that this ſhould be ſignified in an addreſs to him. This would bind the King in point of honour, and gain his heart ſo entirely, that it would be a tie above all laws whatſoever. And the tide run ſo ſtrong that way, that the Houſe went into it without oppoſition.

THE Lord *Preſton*, who had been for ſome years Envoy in *France*, was brought over, and ſet up to be a manager in the Houſe of Commons. He told them, the reputation of the Nation was beginning to riſe very high all *Europe* over, under a Prince whoſe name ſpread terror every where: And if this was confirmed by the entire confidence of his Parliament, even in the tendereſt matters, it would give ſuch a turn to the affairs of *Europe*, that *England* would again hold the balance, and their King would be the arbiter of *Europe*. This was ſeconded by all the Court flatterers. So in their addreſs to the King, thanking him for his ſpeech, they told him, they truſted to him ſo entirely, that they relied on his word, and thought themſelves and their Religion ſafe, ſince he had promiſed it to them.

WHEN this was ſettled, the petitions concerning the Elections were preſented. Upon thoſe *Seimour* ſpoke very high, and with much weight. He ſaid, the complaints of the irregularities in Elections were ſo great, that many doubted whether this was a true repreſentative of the Nation, or not. He ſaid, little equity was expected upon petitions, where ſo many were too guilty to judge juſtly and impartially. He ſaid, it concerned them

to

to look to theſe: For if the Nation ſaw no juſtice was to be expected from them, other methods would be found, in which they might come to ſuffer that juſtice which they would not do. He was a haughty man, and would not communicate his deſign in making this motion to any: So all were ſurpriſed with it, but none ſeconded it. This had no effect, not ſo much as to draw on a debate. 1685.

THE Courtiers were projecting many laws to ruin all who oppoſed their deſigns. The moſt important of theſe was an act declaring treaſons during that Reign, by which words were to be made treaſon. And the clauſe was ſo drawn, that any thing ſaid to diſparage the King's perſon or Government was made treaſon; within which every thing ſaid to the diſhonour of the King's Religion would have been comprehended, as Judges and Juries were then modelled. This was chiefly oppoſed by Serjeant *Maynard*, who in a very grave ſpeech laid open the inconvenience of making words treaſon: They were often ill heard and ill underſtood, and were apt to be misrecited by a very ſmall variation: Men in paſſion or in drink might ſay things they never intended: Therefore he hoped they would keep to the law of the twenty fifth of *Edward* the third, by which an overt-act was made the neceſſary proof of ill intentions. And when others inſiſted, that *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth ſpake*, he brought the inſtance of our Saviour's words, *Deſtroy this Temple*; and ſhewed how near *the Temple* was to *this Temple*, pronouncing it in *Syriack*, ſo that the difference

The Parliament was violent.

1685. was almoſt imperceptible. There was nothing more innocent than theſe words, as our Saviour meant, and ſpoke them: But nothing was more criminal than the ſetting on a multitude to deſtroy the Temple. This made ſome impreſſion at that time. But if the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing had not brought the ſeſſion to an early concluſion, that, and every thing elſe which the officious Courtiers were projecting, would have certainly paſt.

The Lords were more cautious.

THE moſt important buſineſs that was before the Houſe of Lords was the reverſing the attainder of the Lord *Stafford*. It was ſaid for it, that the witneſſes were now convicted of perjury, and therefore the reſtoring the blood that was tainted by their evidence was a juſt reparation. The proceedings in the matter of the Popiſh plot were chiefly founded on *Oates*'s diſcovery, which was now judged to be a thread of perjury. This ſtuck with the Lords, and would not go down. Yet they did juſtice both to the Popiſh Lords then in the Tower, and to the Earl of *Danby*, who moved the Houſe of Lords, that they might either be brought to their trial, or be ſet at liberty. This was ſent by the Lords to the Houſe of Commons, who returned anſwer, that they did not think fit to inſiſt on the impeachments. So upon that they were diſcharged of them, and ſet at liberty. Yet, tho' both Houſes agreed in this of proſecuting the Popiſh plot no further, the Lords had no mind to reverſe and condemn paſt proceedings.

BUT while all theſe things were in agitation,

tion, the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing brought the ſeſſion to a concluſion. As ſoon as Lord *Argile* ſailed for *Scotland*, the Duke ſet about his deſign with as much haſte as was poſſible: Arms were bought, and a ſhip was freighted for *Bilbao* in *Spain*. The Duke pawned all his jewels: But theſe could not raiſe much: And no money was ſent him out of *England*. So he was hurried into an ill deſigned invaſion. The whole company conſiſted but of eighty two perſons. They were all faithful to one another. But ſome ſpies, whom *Shelton* the new Envoy ſet on work, ſent him the notice of a ſuſpected ſhip ſailing out of *Amſterdam* with arms. *Shelton* neither underſtood the laws of *Holland*, nor adviſed with thoſe who did: Otherwiſe he would have carried with him an order from the Admiralty of *Holland*, then at the *Hague*, to be made uſe of as the occaſion ſhould require. When he came to *Amſterdam*, and applied himſelf to the Magiſtrates there, deſiring them to ſtop and ſearch the ſhip that he named, they found the ſhip was already ſailed out of their port, and their juriſdiction went no further. So he was forced to ſend to the Admiralty at the *Hague*. But thoſe on board, hearing what he was come for, made all poſſible haſte. And, the wind favouring them, they got out of the *Texel*, before the order deſired could be brought from the *Hague*. 1685.

The Duke of *Monmouth* landed at *Lime*.

AFTER a proſperous courſe, the Duke landed at *Lime* in *Dorſetſhire*: And he with his ſmall company came aſhore with ſome

1685. order, but with too much day light, which discovered how few they were.

An act of Attainder against him.

THE alarm was brought hot to *London*: Where, upon the general report and belief of the thing an act of Attainder past both Houses in one day; some small opposition being made by the Earl of *Anglesey*, because the evidence did not seem clear enough for so severe a sentence, which was grounded on the notoriety of the thing. The sum of 5000. *l.* was set on his head. And with that the session of Parliament ended; which was no small happiness to the Nation, such a body of men being dismissed with doing so little hurt. The Duke of *Monmouth*'s *Manifesto* was long, and ill penned: Full of much black and dull malice. It was plainly *Ferguson*'s stile, which was both tedious and fulsome. It charged the King with the burning of *London*, the Popish plot, *Godfrey*'s murder, and the Earl of *Essex*'s death: And to crown all, it was pretended, that the late King was poisoned by his orders: It was set forth, that the King's Religion made him incapable of the Crown; that three subsequent Houses of Commons had voted his Exclusion; The taking away the old Charters, and all the hard things done in the last Reign, were laid to his charge: The Elections of the present Parliament were also set forth very odiously, with great indecency of stile: The Nation was also appealed to, when met in a free Parliament, to judge of the Duke's own pretensions: And all sort of liberty, both in temporals and spirituals, was promised to persons of all persuasions.

UPON

UPON the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing, many of the country people came in to join him, but very few of the Gentry. He had quickly men enough about him to uſe all his arms. The Duke of *Albermale*, as Lord Lieutenant of *Devonſhire* was ſent down to raiſe the Militia, and with them to make head againſt him. But their ill affection appeared very evidently: Many deſerted, and all were cold in the ſervice. The Duke of *Monmouth* had the whole country open to him for almoſt a fortnight, during which time he was very diligent in training and animating his men. His own behaviour was ſo gentle and obliging, that he was maſter of all their hearts, as much as was poſſible. But he quickly found, what it was to be at the head of undiſciplined men, that knew nothing of war, and that were not to be uſed with rigour. Soon after their landing, Lord *Grey* was ſent out with a ſmall party. He ſaw a few of the Militia, and he ran for it: But his men ſtood, and the Militia ran from them. Lord *Grey* brought a falſe alarm, that was ſoon found to be ſo: For the men whom their leader had abandoned came back in good order. The Duke of *Monmouth* was ſtruck with this, when he found that the perſon on whom he depended moſt, and for whom he deſigned the command of the horſe, had already made himſelf infamous by his cowardiſe. He intended to join *Fletcher* with him in that command. But an unhappy accident made it not convenient to keep him longer about him. He ſent him out on another party; And he, not being

1685.

A rabble came and joined him.

Lord *Grey*'s cowardiſe.

1685. yet furniſhed with a horſe, took the horſe of one who had brought in a great body of men from *Taunton*. He was not in the way: So *Fletcher*, not ſeeing him to ask his leave, thought that all things were to be in common among them, that could advance the ſervice. After *Fletcher* had rid about, as he was ordered, as he returned, the owner of the horſe he rode on, who was a rough and ill-bred man, reproached him in very injurious terms, for taking out his horſe without his leave. *Fletcher* bore this longer than could have been expected from one of his impetuous temper. But the other perſiſted in giving him foul language, and offered a ſwitch or a cane: Upon which he diſcharged his piſtol at him, and fatally ſhot him dead. He went and gave the Duke of *Monmouth* an account of this, who ſaw it was impoſſible to keep him longer about him, without diſguſting and loſing the country people, who were coming in a body to demand juſtice. So he adviſed him to go aboard the ſhip, and to ſail on to *Spain*, whither ſhe was bound. By this means he was preſerved for that time.

FERGUSON ran among the people with all the fury of an enraged man, that affected to paſs for an enthuſiaſt, tho' all his performances that way were forced and dry. The Duke of *Monmouth*'s great error was, that he did not in the firſt heat venture on ſome hardy action, and then march either to *Exeter* or *Briſtol*; where, as he would have found much wealth, ſo he would have gained ſome reputation by it. But he lingred in exerciſing his men, and

and ſtaid too long in the neigbourhood of *Lime*. 1685.

BY this means the King had time both to bring troops out of *Scotland*, after *Argile* was taken, and to ſend to *Holland* for the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments that were in the ſervice of the States; which the Prince ſent over very readily, and offered his own perſon, and a greater force, if it was neceſſary. The King received this with great expreſſions of acknowledgment and kindneſs. It was very viſible, that he was much diſtracted in his thoughts, and that what appearance of courage ſoever he might put on, he was inwardly full of apprehenſions and fears. He durſt not accept of the offer of aſſiſtance that the *French* made him; for by that he would have loſt the hearts of the *Engliſh* Nation. And he had no mind to be much obliged to the Prince of *Orange*, or to let him into his counſels or affairs. *Prince George* committed a great error in not asking the command of the Army: For the command, how much ſoever he might have been bound to the counſels of others, would have given him ſome luſtre; whereas his ſtaying at home in ſuch time of danger brought him under much neglect.

The Earl of *Feverſham* commanded the King's Army.

THE King could not chooſe worſe than he did, when he gave the command to the Earl of *Feverſham*, who was a *Frenchman* by birth, and nephew to Mr. *de Turenne*. Both his brothers changing Religion, tho' he continued ſtill a Proteſtant, made that his Religion was not much truſted to. He was an honeſt, brave, and good natured man, but weak

1685. weak to a degree not eaſy to be conceived. And he conducted matters ſo ill, that every ſtep he made was like to prove fatal to the King's ſervice. He had no parties abroad. He got no intelligence: And was almoſt ſurpriſed, and like to be defeated, when he ſeemed to be under no apprehenſion, but was a-bed without any care or order. So that, if the Duke of *Monmouth* had got but a very ſmall number of good ſoldiers about him, the King's affairs would have fallen into great diſorder.

THE Duke of *Monmouth* had almoſt ſurpriſed Lord *Feverſham*, and all about him, while they were a-bed: He got in between two bodies, into which the Army lay divided. He now ſaw his error in lingring ſo long. He began to want bread, and to be ſo ſtraitned, that there was a neceſſity of puſhing for a ſpeedy deciſion. He was ſo miſled in his march, that he loſt an hour's time. And when he came near the Army, there was an inconſiderable ditch, in the paſſing which he loſt ſo much more time, that the Officers had leiſure to riſe and be dreſſed, now they had the alarm. And they put themſelves in order. Yet the Duke of *Monmouth*'s foot ſtood longer, and fought better than could have been expected; eſpecially, when the ſmall body of horſe they had ran upon the firſt charge, the blame of which was caſt on the Lord *Grey*. The foot being thus forſaken, and galled by the cannon, did run at laſt. About a thouſand of them were killed on the ſpot; and fifteen hundred were taken priſoners.

Their

Their numbers when fulleſt were between five and ſix thouſand. The Duke of *Monmouth* left the field too ſoon for a man of courage, who had ſuch high pretenſions: For a few days before he had ſuffered himſelf to be called King, which did him no ſervice, even among thoſe that followed him. He rode towards *Dorſetſhire*: And when his horſe could carry him no further, he changed clothes with a ſhepherd, and went as far as his legs could carry him, being accompanied only with a *German*, whom he had brought over with him. At laſt, when he could go no further; he lay down in a field where there was hay and ſtraw, with which they covered themſelves, ſo that they hoped to lie there unſeen till night. Parties went out on all hands to take priſoners. The ſhepherd was found by the Lord *Lumley* in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s clothes. So this put them on his track, and having ſome dogs with them they followed the ſcent, and came to the place where the *German* was firſt diſcovered; And he immediately pointed to the place where the Duke of *Monmouth* lay. So he was taken in a very indecent dreſs and poſture. 1685. The Duke of *Monmouth* defeated. And taken.

HIS body was quite ſunk with fatigue: And his mind was now ſo low, that he begged his life in a manner that agreed ill with the courage of the former parts of it. He called for pen, ink, and paper; and wrote to the Earl of *Feverſham*, and both to the Queen, and the Queen *Dowager*, to intercede with the King for his life. The King's temper, as well as his intereſt, made it ſo impoſſible to hope

1685. hope for that, that it ſhewed a great meanneſs in him to ask it in ſuch terms as he uſed in his letters. He was carried up to *Whitehall*; where the King examined him in perſon, which was thought very indecent, ſince he was reſolved not to pardon him. He made new and unbecoming ſubmiſſions, and inſinuated a readineſs to change his Religion: For he ſaid, the King knew what his firſt education was in Religion. There were no diſcoveries to be got from him; for the attempt was too raſh to be well concerted, or to be ſo deep laid that many were involved in the guilt of it. He was examined on *Monday*, and orders were given for his execution on *Wedneſday*.

Soon after executed. *TURNER* and *Ken*, the Biſhops of *Ely* and of *Bath* and *Wells*, were ordered to wait on him. But he called for Dr. *Tenniſon*. The Biſhops ſtudied to convince him of the ſin of rebellion. He anſwered, he was ſorry for the blood that was ſhed in it: But he did not ſeem to repent of the deſign. Yet he confeſſed that his Father had often told him, that there was no truth in the reports of his having married his Mother. This he ſet under his hand, probably for his childrens ſake, who were then priſoners in the Tower, that ſo they might not be ill uſed on his account. He ſhewed a great neglect of his Ducheſs. And her reſentmens for his courſe of life with the Lady *Wentworth* wrought ſo much on her, that, tho' he deſired to ſpeak privately with her, ſhe would have witneſſes to hear all that paſt, to juſtify her ſelf, and to preſerve her family.





family. They parted very coldly. He only recommended to her the breeding their children in the Proteſtant Religion. The Biſhops continued ſtill to preſs on him a deep ſenſe of the ſin of rebellion; at which he grew ſo uneaſy, that he deſired them to ſpeak to him of other matters. They next charged him with the ſin of living with the Lady *Wentworth* as he had done. In that he juſtified himſelf: He had married his Ducheſs too young to give a true conſent: He ſaid, that Lady was a pious worthy woman, and that he had never lived ſo well in all reſpects, as ſince his engagements with her. All the pains they took to convince him of the unlawfulneſs of that courſe of life had no effect. They did certainly very well in diſcharging their conſciences, and ſpeaking ſo plainly to him. But they did very ill to talk ſo much of this matter, and to make it ſo publick as they did; for Divines ought not to repeat what they ſay to dying penitents, no more than what the penitents ſay to them. By this means the Duke of *Monmouth* had little ſatisfaction in them, and they had as little in him. 1685.

HE was much better pleaſed with Dr. *Tenniſon*, who did very plainly ſpeak to him, with relation to his publick actings, and to his courſe of life: But he did it in a ſofter and leſs peremptory manner. And having ſaid all that he thought proper, he left thoſe points, in which he ſaw he could not convince him, to his own conſcience, and turned to other things fit to be laid before a dying man. The Duke begged one day more of life

1685. life with such repeated earnestness, that as the King was much blamed for denying so small a favour, so it gave occasion to others to believe, that he had some hope from Astrologers, that, if he out-lived that day, he might have a better fate. As long as he fancied there was any hope, he was too much unsettled in his mind to be capable of any thing.

He died with great calmness.

BUT when he saw all was to no purpose, and that he must die, he complained a little that his death was hurried on so fast. But all on the sudden he came into a composure of mind, that surprised those that saw it. There was no affectation in it. His whole behaviour was easy and calm, not without a decent cheerfulness. He prayed God to forgive all his sins, unknown as well as known. He seemed confident of the mercies of God, and that he was going to be happy with him. And he went to the place of execution on Tower Hill with an air of undisturbed courage, that was grave and composed. He said little there, only that he was sorry for the blood that was shed: But he had ever meant well to the Nation. When he saw the axe, he touched it, and said, it was not sharp enough. He gave the Hangman but half the reward he intended; and said, if he cut off his head cleverly, and not so butcherly as he did the Lord *Russel*'s, his man would give him the rest. The Executioner was in great disorder, trembling all over: So he gave him two or three strokes without being able to finish the matter, and then flung the axe out of his hand. But the Sheriff forced him to take it up: And at three

or

or four more ſtrokes he ſevered his head from his body: And both were preſently buried in the Chapel of the Tower. Thus lived and died this unfortunate young man. He had ſeveral good qualities in him, and ſome that were as bad. He was ſoft and gentle even to exceſs, and too eaſy to thoſe who had credit with him. He was both ſincere and good natured, and underſtood war well. But he was too much given to pleaſure and to favourites. 1685.

THE Lord *Grey* it was thought would go next. But he had a great eſtate that by his death was to go over to his brother. So the Court reſolved to preſerve him, till he ſhould be brought to compound for his life. The Earl of *Rocheſter* had 16000. *l.* of him. Others had ſmaller ſhares. He was likewiſe obliged to tell all he knew, and to be a witneſs in order to the conviction of others, but with this aſſurance, that no body ſhould die upon his evidence. So the Lord *Brandon*, ſon to the Earl of *Macclesfield*, was convicted by his and ſome other evidence. Mr. *Hambden* was alſo brought on his trial; and was told, that he muſt expect no favour unleſs he would plead guilty. And he, knowing that legal evidence could be brought againſt him, ſubmitted to this; and begged his life with a meanneſs, of which he himſelf was ſo aſhamed afterwards, that it gave his ſpirits a depreſſion and diſorder that he could never quite maſter. And that had a terrible concluſion; for about ten years after he cut his own throat. Lord *Grey* pardoned.

THE King was now as ſucceſful as his

1685. The King was lifted up with his ſucceſſes.

own heart could wiſh. He had held a ſeſſion of Parliament in both Kingdoms, that had ſettled his revenue; And now two ill prepared and ill managed rebellions had ſo broken all the party that was againſt him, that he ſeemed ſecure in his Throne, and above the power of all his enemies. And certainly a reign, that was now ſo beyond expectation ſucceſsful in its firſt ſix months, ſeemed ſo well ſettled, that no ordinary miſmanagement could have ſpoiled ſuch beginnings. If the King had ordered a ſpeedy execution of ſuch perſons, as were fit to be made publick examples, and had upon that granted a general indemnity; and if he had but covered his intentions till he had got thro' another ſeſſion of Parliament, it is not eaſy to imagine with what advantage he might then have opened and purſued his deſigns.

But it had an ill effect on his affairs.

BUT his own temper, and the fury of ſome of his Miniſters, and the maxims of his Prieſts, who were become enthuſiaſtical upon this ſucceſs, and fancied that nothing could now ſtand before him: All theſe concurred to make him loſe advantages that were never to be recovered: For the ſhews of mercy, that were afterwards put on, were looked on as an after-game, to retrieve that which was now loſt. The Army was kept for ſome time in the *Weſtern* Counties, where both Officers and ſoldiers lived as in an enemy's country, and treated all that were believed to be ill affected to the King with great rudeneſs and violence.

KIRK, who had commanded long in *Tangier*,

Tangier, was become so savage by the neighbourhood of the *Moors* there, that some days after the battle he ordered several of the prisoners to be hanged up at *Taunton*, without so much as the form of law, he and his company looking on from an entertainment they were at. At every new health another prisoner was hanged up. And they were so brutal, that observing the shaking of the legs of those whom they hanged, it was said among them, they were dancing; and upon that musick was called for. This was both so illegal, and so inhuman, that it might have been expected that some notice would have been taken of it. But *Kirk* was only chid for it. And it was said, that he had a particular order for some military executions: So that he could only be chid for the manner of it. 1685.

Great cruelties committed by his soldiers.

BUT, as if this had been nothing, *Jefferies* was sent the *Western* Circuit to try the prisoners. His behaviour was beyond any thing that was ever heard of in a civilized Nation. He was perpetually either drunk, or in a rage, liker a fury than the zeal of a Judge. He required the prisoners to plead guilty; and in that case he gave them some hope of favour, if they gave him no trouble: Otherwise he told them he would execute the letter of the law upon them in its utmost severity. This made many plead guilty, who had a great defence in law. But he shewed no mercy. He ordered a great many to be hanged up immediately, without allowing them a minute's time to say their prayers. He hanged, in several places, about six hundred persons. The

And much greater by *Jefferies*.

1685. greateſt part of theſe were of the meaneſt ſort, and of no diſtinction. The impieties with which he treated them, and his behaviour towards ſome of the Nobility and Gentry that were well affected, but came and pleaded in favour of ſome priſoners, would have amazed one, if done by a *Baſhaw* in *Turkey*. *England* had never known any thing like it. The inſtances are too many to be reckoned up.

With which the King was well pleaſed.

BUT that which brought all his exceſſes to be imputed to the King himſelf, and to the orders given by him, was, that the King had a particular account of all his proceedings writ to him every day. And he took pleaſure to relate them in the drawing room to foreign Miniſters, and at his table, calling it *Jefferies*'s campaign: Speaking of all he had done in a ſtile, that neither became the Majeſty, nor the mercifulneſs, of a great Prince. *Dykveld* was at that time in *England*, one of the Embaſſadors whom the States had ſent over to congratulate the King's coming to the Crown. He told me, that the King talked ſo often of theſe things in his hearing, that he wondered to ſee him break out into thoſe indecencies. And upon *Jefferies*'s coming back, he was created a Baron, and Peer of *England*: A dignity which, tho' anciently ſome Judges were raiſed to it, yet in theſe later ages, as there was no example of it, ſo it was thought inconſiſtent with the character of a Judge.

The executions of two women.

TWO executions were of ſuch an extraordinary nature, that they deſerve a more particular recital. The King apprehended that many

many of the prisoners had got into *London*, and were concealed there. So he said, those who concealed them were the worst sort of traitors, who endeavoured to preserve such persons to a better time. He had likewise a great mind to find out among the rich Merchants, some who might afford great compositions to save their lives: For tho' there was much blood shed, there was little booty got to reward those who had served. Upon this the King declared, he would sooner pardon the Rebels, than those who harboured them. 1685.

THERE was in *London* one *Gaunt*, a woman that was an Anabaptist, who spent a great part of her life in acts of charity, visiting the jayles, and looking after the poor of what persuasion soever they were. One of the Rebels found her out, and she harboured him in her house; and was looking for an occasion of sending him out of the Kingdom. He went about in the night, and came to hear what the King had said. So he, by an unheard of baseness, went and delivered himself, and accused her that harboured him. She was seized on, and tried. There was no witness to prove that she knew that the person she harboured was a Rebel, but he himself: Her maid witnessed only, that he was entertained at her house. But tho' the crime was her harbouring a traitor, and was proved only by this infamous witness, yet the Judge charged the Jury to bring her in guilty, pretending that the maid was a second witness, tho' she knew nothing of that which was the criminal part. She was condemned, and burnt, as the law

1685. directs in the case of women convict of treason. She died with a constancy, even to a cheerfulness, that struck all that saw it. She said, charity was a part of her Religion, as well as faith: This at worst was the feeding an enemy: So she hoped, she had her reward with him, for whose sake she did this service, how unworthy soever the person was, that made so ill a return for it: She rejoyced, that God had honoured her to be the first that suffered by fire in this Reign; and that her suffering was a martyrdom for that Religion which was all love. *Pen* the Quaker told me, he saw her die. She laid the straw about her for burning her speedily; and behaved her self in such a manner, that all the spectators melted in tears.

THE other execution was of a woman of greater quality: The Lady *Lisle*. Her husband had been a Regicide, and was one of *Cromwell*'s Lords, and was called the Lord *Lisle*. He went at the time of the Restoration beyond sea, and lived at *Lausanne*. But three desperate *Irishmen*, hoping by such a service to make their fortunes, went thither, and killed him as he was going to Church; and being well mounted, and ill pursued, got into *France*. His Lady was known to be much affected with the King's death, and not easily reconciled to her husband for the share he had in it. She was a woman of great piety and charity. The night after the action, *Hicks*, a violent preacher among the Dissenters, and *Nelthorp*, came to her house. She knew *Hicks*, and treated him civilly, not asking from

from whence they came. But *Hicks* told what brought them thither; for they had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*. Upon which ſhe went out of the room immediately, and ordered her chief ſervant to ſend an information concerning them to the next Juſtice of Peace, and in the mean while to ſuffer them to make their eſcape. But, before this could be done, a party came about the houſe, and took both them, and her for harbouring them. *Jefferies* reſolved to make a ſacrifice of her; and obtained of the King a promiſe that he would not pardon her. Which the King owned to the Earl of *Feverſham*, when he, upon the offer of a 1000. *l.* if he could obtain her pardon, went and begged it. So ſhe was brought to her trial. No legal proof was brought, that ſhe knew that they were rebels: The names of the perſons found in her houſe were in no Proclamation: So there was no notice given to beware of them. *Jefferies* affirmed to the Jury upon his honour, that the perſons had confeſſed that they had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*. This was the turning a witneſs againſt her, after which he ought not to have judged in the matter. And, tho' it was inſiſted on, as a point of law, that till the perſons found in her houſe were convicted, ſhe could not be found guilty, yet *Jefferies* charged the Jury in a moſt violent manner to bring her in guilty. All the audience was ſtrangely affected with ſo unuſual a behaviour in a Judge. Only the perſon moſt concerned, the Lady herſelf, who was then paſt ſeventy, was ſo little moved at it, 1685.

1685. that she fell asleep. The Jury brought her in not guilty. But the Judge in great fury sent them out again. Yet they brought her in a second time not guilty. Then he seemed as in a transport of rage, and upon that threatned them with an attaint of Jury. So they, overcome with fear, brought her in the third time guilty. The King would shew no other favour, but that he changed the sentence from burning to beheading. She died with great constancy of mind; and expressed a joy, that she thus suffered for an act of charity and piety.

The behaviour of those who suffered.

MOST of those that suffered expressed at their death such a calm firmness, and such a zeal for their Religion, which they believed was then in danger, that it made great impressions on the spectators. Some base men among them tried to save themselves by accusing others. *Goodenough*, who had been Under-Sheriff of *London* when *Cornish* was Sheriff, offered to swear against *Cornish*; and also said, that *Rumsey* had not discovered all he knew. So *Rumsey* to save himself joined with *Goodenough*, to swear *Cornish* guilty of that for which the Lord *Russel* had suffered. And this was driven on so fast, that *Cornish* was seized on, tried, and executed within the week. If he had got a little time, the falsehood of the evidence would have been proved from *Rumsey*'s former deposition; which appeared so clearly soon after his death, that his estate was restored to his family, and the witnesses were lodged in remote prisons for their lives. *Cornish* at his death asserted his

his innocence with great vehemence; and with some acrimony complained of the methods taken to destroy him. And so they gave it out, that he died in a fit of fury. But *Penn*, who saw the execution, said to me, there appeared nothing but a just indignation that innocence might very naturally give. *Penn* might be well relied on in such matters, he being so entirely in the King's interests. He said to me, the King was much to be pitied, who was hurried into all this effusion of blood by *Jefferies*'s impetuous and cruel temper. But, if his own inclinations had not been biassed that way, and if his Priests had not thought it the interest of their party to let that butcher loose, by whom so many men that were like to oppose them were put out of the way, it is not to be imagined, that there would have been such a run of barbarous cruelty, and that in so many instances. 1685.

IT gave a general horror to the body of the Nation: And it let all people see, what might be expected from a Reign that seemed to delight in blood. Even some of the fairest of Tories began to relent a little, and to think they had trusted too much, and gone too far. The King had raised new Regiments, and had given commissions to Papists. This was over-looked during the time of danger, in which all men's service was to be made use of: And by law they might serve three months. But now, as that time was near lapsing, the King began to say, the laws for the two Tests were made on design against himself: The first was made to turn him out

The Nation was much changed by this management.

1685. of the Admiralty, and the ſecond to make way for the Excluſion: And, he added, that it was an affront to him to inſiſt on the obſervance of thoſe laws. So theſe perſons notwithſtanding that act were continued in commiſſion: And the King declared openly, that he muſt look on all thoſe, who would not conſent to the repeal of thoſe laws, in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, as his enemies.

Great diſputes for and againſt the Teſts.

THE Courtiers began every where to declaim againſt the Teſts. It was ſaid to be againſt the rights of the Crown to deny the King the ſervice of all his Subjects; to be contrary to the dignity of Peerage to ſubject Peers to any other Teſts than their allegiance; and that it was an inſufferable affront done the King, to oblige all thoſe, whom he ſhould employ, to ſwear that his Religion was idolatrous. On the other hand all the people ſaw, that, if thoſe acts were not maintained, no employment would be given to any but Papiſts, or to thoſe who gave hopes that they would change. And, if the Parliament Teſt was taken off, then the way was opened to draw over ſo many members of both Houſes, as would be in time a majority, to bring on an entire change of the laws with relation to Religion. As long as the Nation reckoned their Kings were true and ſure to their Religion, there was no ſuch need of thoſe Teſts, while the giving employments was left free, and our Princes were like to give them only to thoſe of their own Religion. But, ſince we had a Prince profeſſing another Religion, it ſeemed the only ſecurity that was left to the

the Nation, were thoſe Teſts that ſtood as a barrier to defend us from Popery. It was alſo ſaid, that they had really quieted the minds of the greater part of the Nation, and had united them againſt the Excluſion; ſince they reckoned their Religion was ſafe by reaſon of them. The military men went in zealouſly into thoſe notions; for they ſaw, that, as ſoon as the King ſhould get rid of the Teſts, they muſt either change their Religion, or loſe their employments. The Clergy, who for moſt part had hitherto run in with fury to all the King's intereſts, began now to open their eyes. Thus all on a ſudden the temper of the Nation was much altered. The Marquis of *Halifax* moved in Council, that an order ſhould be given to examine, whether all the Officers in commiſſion had taken the Teſt, or not. But none ſeconded him: So the motion fell. And now all endeavours were uſed, to fix the repeal of the Teſts in the ſeſſion that was coming on. 1685.

SOME few converts were made at this time. The chief of thoſe were the Earl of *Perth*, and his brother the Earl of *Melford*. Some differences fell in between the Duke of *Queensberry* and the Earl of *Perth*. The latter thought the former was haughty and violent, and that he uſed him in too imperious a manner. So they broke. At that time the King publiſhed the two papers found in his brother's ſtrong box. So the Earl of *Perth* was either overcome with the reaſons in them, or he thought it would look well at Court, if he put his converſion upon theſe. He came up

Some change their Religion.

1685. up to complain of the Duke of *Queensberry*. And his brother going to meet him at *Ware*, he discovered his design to him, who seemed at first much troubled at it: But he plied him so, that he prevailed on him to join with him in his pretended conversion, which he did with great shews of devotion and zeal. But when his objections to the Duke of *Queensberry*'s administration were heard, they were so slight, that the King was ashamed of them; and all the Court justified the Duke of *Queensberry*. A repartee of the Marquis of *Halifax* was much talked of on this occasion. The Earl of *Perth* was taking pains to convince him, that he had just grounds of complaint, and seemed little concerned in the ill effect this might have on himself. The Marquis answered him, he needed fear nothing, *His faith would make him whole*: And it proved so.

The Duke of *Queensberry* disgraced.

BEFORE this change was declared, the King seemed so well satisfied with the Duke of *Queensberry*, that he was resolved to bring the Earl of *Perth* to a submission, otherwise to dismiss him. But such converts were to be encouraged. So the King, having declared himself too openly to recal that so soon, ordered them both to go back to *Scotland*; and said, he would signify his pleasure to them when they should be there. It followed them down very quickly. The Duke of *Queensberry* was turned out of the Treasury, and it was put in commission: And he, not to be too much irritated at once, was put first in the Commission. And now it became soon very visible,

visible, that he had the secret no more; but that it was lodged between the two brothers, the Earls of *Perth*, and *Melford*. Soon after that, the Duke of *Queensberry* was not only turned out of all his employments, but a design was laid to ruin him. All persons were encouraged to bring accusations against him, either with relation to the administration of the government, or of the Treasury. And, if any colourable matter could have been found against him, it was resolved to have made him a sacrifice. This sudden hatred, after so entire a confidence, was imputed to the suggestions the Earl of *Perth* had made of his zeal against Popery, and of his having engaged all his friends to stick firm in opposition to it. It was said, there was no need of making such promises, as he had engaged the King to make to the Parliament of *Scotland*: No body desired or expected them: He only drove that matter on his own account: So it was fit to let all about the King see, what was to be looked for, if they pressed any thing too severely with relation to Religion. 1685.

The King declared against the Tests.

BUT to leave *Scotland*, and return to *England*: The King, after he had declared that he would be served by none but those who would vote for the repeal of the Tests, called for the Marquis of *Halifax*, and asked him, how he would vote in that matter. He very frankly answered, he would never consent to it: He thought, the keeping up those laws was necessary, even for the King's service, since the Nation trusted so much to them, that the publick quiet was chiefly preserved by

1685. by that means. Upon this the King told him, that tho' he would never forget paſt ſervices, yet ſince he could not be prevailed on in that particular, he was reſolved to have all of a piece. So he was turned out. And the Earl of *Sunderland* was made Lord Preſident, and continued ſtill Secretary of State. More were not queſtioned at that time, nor turned out: For it was hoped, that, ſince all men ſaw what was to be expected if they ſhould not comply with the King's intentions, this would have its full effect upon thoſe, who had no mind to part with their places.

Proceedings in *Ireland.* THE King reſolved alſo to model *Ireland*, ſo as to make that Kingdom a nurſery for his Army in *England*, and to be ſure at leaſt of an Army there, while his deſigns were to go on more ſlowly in the Iſle of *Britain*. The *Iriſh* bore an inveterate hatred to the Duke of *Ormond*: So he was recalled. But, to diſmiſs him with ſome ſhew of reſpect, he was ſtill continued Lord Steward of the houſehold. The Earl of *Clarendon* was declared Lord Lieutenant. But the Army was put under the command of *Talbot*, who was made Earl of *Tirconnell*. And he began very ſoon to model it anew. The Archbiſhop of *Armagh* had continued Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and was in all points ſo compliant to the Court, that even his Religion came to be ſuſpected on that account. Yet, it ſeemed, he was not thought thorough paced. So Sir *Charles Porter*, who was a zealous promoter of every thing that the King propoſed, and was a man of ready wit, and being poor was thought

thought a perſon fit to be made a Tool of, was declared Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*. To theſe the King ſaid, he was reſolved to maintain the ſettlement of *Ireland*. They had authority to promiſe this, and to act purſuant to it. But, as both the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Porter* were poor, it was hoped that they would underſtand the King's intentions, and ſee thro' thoſe promiſes, that were made only to lay men aſleep; and that therefore they would not inſiſt too much on them, nor purſue them too far. 1685.

The perſecution in *France*.

BUT now, before I come to relate the ſhort ſeſſion of Parliament that was abruptly broken off, I muſt mention one great tranſaction that went before it, and had no ſmall influence on all men's minds. And ſince I ſaw that diſmal tragedy, which was at this time acted in *France*, I muſt now change the ſcene, and give ſome account of my ſelf. When I reſolved to go beyond ſea, there was no choice to be made. So many exiles and outlawed perſons were ſcattered up and down the Towns of *Holland*, and other Provinces, that I ſaw the danger of going where I was ſure many of them would come about me, and try to have involved me in guilt by coming into my company, that ſo they might engage me into their deſigns. So I reſolved to go to *France*: And, if I found it not convenient to ſtay there, I intended to go on to *Geneva* or *Switzerland*. I asked the *French* Embaſſador, if I might be ſafe there. He after ſome days, I ſuppoſe after he had writ to the Court upon it, aſſured me, I ſhould be ſafe there; and that,

1685. that, if the King ſhould ask after me, timely notice ſhould be given me, that I might go out of the way. So I went to *Paris*. And, there being many there whom I had reaſon to look on as ſpies, I took a little houſe, and lived by my ſelf as privately as I could. I continued there till the beginning of *Auguſt*, that I went to *Italy*. I found the Earl of *Mountague* at *Paris*, with whom I converſed much, and got from him moſt of the ſecrets of the Court, and of the negotiations he was engaged in. The King of *France* had been for many years weakning the whole Proteſtant intereſt there, and was then upon the laſt reſolution of recalling the Edict of *Nantes*. And, as far as I could judge, the affairs of *England* gave the laſt ſtroke to that matter.

A fatal year to the Proteſtant Religion.

THIS year, of which I am now writing, muſt ever be remembred, as a moſt fatal year to the Proteſtant Religion. In *February*, a King of *England* declared himſelf a Papiſt. In *June*, *Charles* the Elector *Palatine* dying without iſſue, the Electoral dignity went to the Houſe of *Newburgh*, a moſt bigotted Popiſh family. In *October*, the King of *France* recalled and vacated the Edict of *Nantes*; And in *December*, the Duke of *Savoy* being brought to it, not only by the perſuaſions, but even by the threatnings of the Court of *France*, recalled the Edict that his father had granted to the *Vaudois*. So it muſt be confeſſed, that this was a very critical year. And I have ever reckoned this the fifth great criſis of the Proteſtant Religion.

FOR ſome years the Prieſts were every where

where making converſions in *France*. The hopes of penſions and preferment wrought on many. The plauſible colours, that the Biſhop of *Meaux*, then Biſhop of *Condom*, put on all the errors of the Church of *Rome*, furniſhed others with excuſes for changing. Many thought, they muſt change at laſt, or be quite undone: For the King ſeemed to be engaged to go thro' with the matter, both in compliance with the ſhadow of conſcience that he ſeemed to have, which was to follow implicitly the conduct of his Confeſſor, and of the Archbiſhop of *Paris*; he himſelf being ignorant in thoſe matters beyond what can be well imagined; and becauſe his glory ſeemed alſo concerned to go thro' with every thing that he had once begun. 1685.

OLD *Ruvigny*, who was the Deputy-general of the Churches, told me, that he was long deceived in his opinion of the King. He knew he was not naturally bloody. He ſaw his groſs ignorance in thoſe matters. His bigottry could not riſe from any inward principle. So for many years he flattered himſelf with the hopes, that the deſign would go on ſo ſlowly, that ſome unlooked for accident might defeat it. But after the peace of *Nimeguen* he ſaw ſuch ſteps made with ſo much precipitation, that he told the King he muſt beg a full hearing of him upon that ſubject, and obtained one that laſted ſome hours. He came well prepared. He told him, what the ſtate of *France* was during the wars in his Father's Reign; how happy *France* had been now for fifty years, occaſioned chiefly by the *Ruvigny's behaviour.*

1685. quiet it was in with relation to the Proteſtants. He gave him an account of their numbers, their induſtry and wealth, their conſtant readineſs to advance the revenue, and that all the quiet he had with the Court of *Rome* was chiefly owing to them: If they were rooted out, the Court of *Rome* would govern as abſolutely in *France*, as it did in *Spain*. He deſired leave to undeceive him, if he was made believe they would all change, as ſoon as he engaged his authority in the matter: Many would go out of the Kingdom, and carry their wealth and induſtry into other countries. And by a ſcheme of particulars he reckoned how far that would go. In fine, he ſaid, it would come to the ſhedding of much blood: Many would ſuffer, and others would be precipitated into deſperate courſes. So that the moſt glorious of all Reigns would be in concluſion disfigured and defaced, and become a ſcene of blood and horror. He told me, as he went thro' theſe matters the King ſeemed to hearken to him very attentively. But he perceived they made no impreſſion: For the King never asked any particulars, or any explanation, but let him go on. And, when he had ended, the King ſaid, he took his freedom well, ſince it flowed from his zeal to his ſervice. He believed all that he had told him, of the prejudice it might do him in his affairs: Only he thought, it would not go to the ſhedding of blood. But he ſaid, he conſidered himſelf as ſo indiſpenſably bound to endeavour the converſion of all his ſubjects, and the extirpation of

of hereſy, that if the doing it ſhould require that with one hand he ſhould cut off the other, he would ſubmit to that. After this *Ruvigny* gave all his friends hints of what they were to look for. Some were for flying out into a new civil war. But their chief confidence being in the aſſiſtance they expected from *England*, he, who knew what our Princes were, and had reaſon to believe that King *Charles* was at leaſt a cold Proteſtant, if not a ſecret Papiſt, and knew that the Dutch would not embroil their affairs in aſſiſting them, their maxims rather leading them to connive at any thing that would bring great numbers and much wealth into their Country than to oppoſe it, was againſt all motions of that kind. He reckoned, thoſe riſings would be ſoon cruſh'd, and ſo would precipitate their ruin with ſome colour of juſtice. He was much cenſured for this by ſome hot men among them, as having betrayed them to the Court. But he was very unjuſtly blamed, as appeared both by his own conduct, and by his ſon's; who was received at firſt into the ſurvivance of being Deputy-general for the Churches, and afterwards, at his Father's deſire, had that melancholy poſt given him; in which he daily ſaw new injuſtices done, and was only ſuffered, for form's ſake, to inform againſt them, but with no hope of ſucceſs. 1685.

He came over to *England*.

THE Father did, upon King *Charles*'s death, write a letter of congratulation to the King, who wrote him ſuch an obliging anſwer, that upon it he wrote to his niece the Lady *Ruſſel*, that, having ſuch aſſurances given

1685. him by the King of a high ſenſe of his former ſervices, he reſolved to come over, and beg the reſtoring her ſon's honour. The Marquis of *Halifax* did preſently apprehend, that this was a blind, and that the King of *France* was ſending him over to penetrate into the King's deſigns; ſince from all hands intimations were brought of the promiſes that King made to the Miniſters of the other Princes of *Europe*. So I was ordered to uſe all endeavours to divert him from coming over. His niece had indeed begged that journey of him, when ſhe hoped it might have ſaved her husband's life; but ſhe would not venture to deſire the journey on any other conſideration, conſidering his great age, and that her ſon was then but five years old. I preſſed this ſo much on him, that, finding him fixed in his reſolution, I could not hinder my ſelf from ſuſpecting, that ſuch a high act of friendſhip, in a man ſome years paſt fourſcore, had ſomewhat under it: And it was ſaid, that, when he took leave of the King of *France*, he had an audience of two hours of him. But this was a falſe ſuggeſtion: And I was aſſured afterwards that he came over only in friendſhip to his niece, and that he had no directions nor meſſages from the Court of *France*.

HE came over, and had ſeveral audiences of the King, who uſed him with great kindneſs, but did not grant him that which he ſaid he came for: Only he gave him a general promiſe of doing it in a proper time.

BUT whether the Court of *France* was ſatisfied, by the converſation that *Ruvigny* had

had with the King, that they needed apprehend nothing from *England*; or whether the King's being now so settled on the Throne made them conclude, that the time was come of repealing the Edicts, is not certain: Mr. *de Louvoy*, seeing his Master so set on the matter, proposed to him a method, which he believed would shorten the work, and do it effectually: Which was, to let loose some bodies of Dragoons to live upon the Protestants on discretion. They were put under no restraint, but only to avoid rapes, and the killing them. This was begun in *Bearn*. And the people were so struck with it, that, seeing they were to be eat up first, and, if that prevailed not, to be cast in prison, when all was taken from them, till they should change, and being required only to promise to reunite themselves to the Church, they, overcome with fear, and having no time for consulting together, did universally comply. This did so animate the Court, that, upon it the same methods were taken in most places of *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphinè*, where the greatest numbers of the Protestants were. A dismal consternation and feebleness ran thro' most of them, so that great numbers yielded. Upon which the King, now resolved to go thro' with what had been long projected, published an Edict repealing the Edict of *Nantes*, in which (tho' that Edict was declared to be a perpetual and irrevocable law) he set forth, that it was only intended to quiet matters by it, till more effectual ways should be taken for the conversion of Hereticks. He also

1685.

Dragoons sent to live on discretion upon the Protestants.

Many of them yielded thro' fear.

1685. also promiſed in it, that, tho' all the publick exerciſes of that Religion were now ſuppreſſed, yet thoſe of that perſuaſion who lived quietly ſhould not be diſturbed on that account, while at the ſame time not only the Dragoons, but all the Clergy, and the bigots of *France*, broke out into all the inſtances of rage and fury againſt ſuch as did not change upon their being required in the King's name to be of his Religion; for that was the ſtile every where.

Great cruelty every where.

MEN and women of all ages, who would not yield, were not only ſtript of all they had, but kept long from ſleep, driven about from place to place, and hunted out of their retirements. The women were carried into Nunneries, in many of which they were almoſt ſtarved, whipt, and barbarouſly treated. Some few of the Biſhops, & of the ſecular Clergy, to make the matter eaſier to ſome, drew formularies, importing that they were reſolved to reunite themſelves to the Catholick Church, and that they renounced the errors of *Luther* and *Calvin*. People in ſuch extremities are eaſy to put a ſtretched ſenſe on any words, that may give them preſent relief. So it was ſaid, what harm was it to promiſe to be united to the Catholick Church: And the renouncing thoſe men's errors did not renounce their good and ſound doctrine. But it was very viſible, with what intent thoſe ſubſcriptions or promiſes were asked of them: So their compliance in that matter was a plain equivocation. But, how weak and faulty ſoever they might be in this, it muſt be acknowledged,

here

here was one of the moſt violent perſecutions that is to be found in hiſtory. In many reſpects it exceeded them all, both in the ſeveral inventions of cruelty, and in its long continuance. I went over a great part of *France* while it was in its hotteſt rage, from *Marſeilles* to *Montpelier*, and from thence to *Lions*, and ſo to *Geneva*. I ſaw and knew ſo many inſtances of their injuſtice and violence, that it exceeded even what could have been well imagined; for all men ſet their thoughts on work to invent new methods of cruelty. In all the Towns thro' which I paſt, I heard the moſt diſmal accounts of thoſe things poſſible; but chiefly at *Valence*, where one *d'Herapine* ſeemed to exceed even the furies of Inquiſitors. One in the ſtreets could have known the new converts, as they were paſſing by them, by a cloudy dejection that appeared in their looks and deportment. Such as endeavoured to make their eſcape, and were ſeized, (for guards and ſecret agents were ſpread along the whole roads and frontier of *France*,) were, if men, condemned to the gallies, and, if women, to monaſteries. To compleat this cruelty, orders were given that ſuch of the new Converts, as did not at their death receive the Sacrament, ſhould be denied burial, and that their bodies ſhould be left where other dead carcaſes were caſt out; to be devoured by wolves or dogs. This was executed in ſeveral places with the utmoſt barbarity: And it gave all people ſo much horror, that finding the ill effect of it, it was let fall. This hurt none, but ſtruck all that ſaw it, even 1685.

1685. with more horror than thoſe ſufferings that were more felt. The fury that appeared on this occaſion did ſpread it ſelf with a ſort of contagion: For the Intendants and other Officers, that had been mild and gentle in the former parts of their life, ſeemed now to have laid aſide the compaſſion of Chriſtians, the breeding of Gentlemen, & the common impreſſions of humanity. The greateſt part of the Clergy, the Regulars eſpecially, were ſo tranſported with the zeal that their King ſhewed on this occaſion, that their Sermons were full of the moſt inflamed eloquence, that they could invent, magnifying their King in ſtrains too indecent and blaſphemous to be mentioned by me.

I went into *Italy*.

I ſtaid at *Paris* till the beginning of *Auguſt*. *Barrillon* ſent to tell me to look to my ſelf; for the King had let ſome words fall importing his ſuſpicion of me, as concerned in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s buſineſs. Whether this was done on deſign, to ſee if ſuch an inſinuation could fright me away, and ſo bring me under ſome appearance of guilt, I cannot tell: For in that time every thing was deceitfully managed. But I, who knew that I was not ſo much as guilty of concealment, reſolved not to ſtir from *Paris* till the rebellion was over, and that the priſoners were examined, and tried. When that was done, *Stouppe*, a Brigadier General, told me, that Mr. *de Louvoy* had ſaid to him that the King was reſolved to put an end to the buſineſs of the *Huguenots* that ſeaſon: And, ſince he was reſolved not to change, he adviſed him to make a *tour* into

to *Italy*, that he might not ſeem to do any thing that oppoſed the King's ſervice. *Stouppe* told me this in confidence: So we reſolved to make that journey together. Some thought it was too bold an adventure in me, after what I had written and acted in the matters of Religion, to go to *Rome*. But others, who judged better, thought I ran no hazard in going thither: For, beſides the high civility with which all ſtrangers are treated there, they were at that time in ſuch hopes of gaining *England*, that it was not reaſonable to think, that they would raiſe the apprehenſions of the Nation, by uſing any that belonged to it ill: And the deſtroying me would not do them the ſervice, that could in any ſort balance the prejudice that might ariſe from the noiſe it would make. And indeed I met with ſuch high civility at *Rome*, that it fully juſtified this opinion. 1685.

POPE *Innocent* the eleventh, *Odeſcalchi*, knew who I was the day after I came to *Rome*. And he ordered the Captain of the *Swiſs* guards to tell *Stouppe*, that he had heard of me, and would give me a private audience abed, to ſave me from the ceremony of the *Pantouſle*. But I knew the noiſe that this would make: So I reſolved to avoid it, and excuſed it upon my ſpeaking *Italian* ſo ill as I did. But Cardinal *Howard* and the Cardinal *d'Eſtrees* treated me with great freedom. The latter talked much with me concerning the Orders in our Church, to know whether they had been brought down to us by men truly ordained, or not; For, he ſaid, they apprehended things

And was well received at *Rome*.

1685. would be much more eaſily brought about, if our Orders could be eſteemed valid, tho' given in Hereſy and Schiſm. I told him, I was glad they were poſſeſſed with any opinion that made the reconciliation more difficult; but, as for the matter of fact, nothing was more certain, than that the ordinations in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign were canonical and regular. He ſeemed to be perſuaded of the truth of this, but lamented that it was impoſſible to bring the *Romans* to think ſo.

Cardinal *Howard*'s freedom with me.

CARDINAL *Howard* ſhewed me his letters from *England*, by which I ſaw, that thoſe who wrote to him reckoned, that their deſigns were ſo well laid, that they could not miſcarry. They thought, they ſhould certainly carry every thing in the next ſeſſion of Parliament. There was a high ſtrain of inſolence in their letters: And they reckoned, they were ſo ſure of the King, that they ſeemed to have no doubt left of their ſucceeding in the reduction of *England*. The *Romans* and *Italians* were much troubled at all this: For they were under ſuch apprehenſions of the growth of the *French* power, and had conceived ſuch hopes of the King of *England*'s putting a ſtop to it, that they were ſorry to ſee the King engage himſelf ſo in the deſign of changing the Religion of his Subjects, which they thought would create him ſo much trouble at home, that he would neither have leiſure nor ſtrength to look after the common concerns of *Europe*. The Cardinal told me, that all the advices writ over from thence to

England

England were for ſlow, calm, and moderate courſes. He ſaid, he wiſhed he were at liberty to ſhew me the copies of them: But he ſaw violent courſes were more acceptable, and would probably be followed. And he added, that theſe were the production of *England*, far different from the counſels of *Rome*. 1685.

HE alſo told me, that they had not inſtruments enough to work with: For, tho' they were ſending over all that were capable of the Miſſion, yet he expected no great matters from them. Few of them ſpoke true *Engliſh*. They came over young, and had no *Engliſh* but that which they brought over with them, which was only the language of boys: But, their education being among ſtrangers, they had formed themſelves ſo upon that model, that really they preached as *Frenchmen* or *Italians* in *Engliſh* words; of which he was every day warning them, for he knew this could have no good effect in *England*. He alſo ſpoke with great ſenſe of the proceedings in *France*, which he apprehended would have very ill conſequences in *England*. I ſhall only add one other particular, which will ſhew the ſoft temper of that good natured man.

HE uſed me in ſuch a manner, that it was much obſerved by many others. So two *French* Gentlemen deſired a note from me to introduce them to him. Their deſign was to be furniſhed with Reliques; for he was then the Cardinal that looked after that matter. One evening I came in to him as he was very buſy in giving them ſome Reliques. So I was called

1685. ed in to see them: And I whispered to him in *English*, that it was somewhat odd, that a Priest of the Church of *England* should be at *Rome* helping them off with the ware of *Babylon*. He was so pleased with this, that he repeated it to the others in *French*; and told the *Frenchmen*, that they should tell their countrymen, how bold the Hereticks, and how mild the Cardinals were at *Rome*.

I staid in *Rome*, till Prince *Borgheſe* came to me, and told me it was time for me to go. I had got great acquaintance there. And, tho' I did not provoke any to discourse of points of controversy, yet I defended my self against all those who attacked me, with the same freedom that I had done in other places. This began to be taken notice of. So upon the first intimation I came away, and returned by *Marseilles*. And then I went thro' those *Southern* Provinces of *France*, that were at that time a scene of barbarity and cruelty.

Cruelties in *Orange*.

I intended to have gone to *Orange*: But *Tessè* with a body of Dragoons was then quartered over that small Principality, and was treating the Protestants there in the same manner that the *French* Subjects were treated in other parts. So I went not in, but past near it, and had this account of that matter from some that were the most considerable men of the Principality. Many of the neighbouring places fled thither from the persecution: Upon which a letter was writ to the Government there, in the name of the King of *France*, requiring them to put all his Subjects

jects out of their territory. This was hard. Yet they were too naked and expoſed, to diſpute any thing with thoſe who could command every thing. So they ordered all the *French* to withdraw: Upon which *Teſſè*, who commanded in thoſe parts, wrote to them, that the King would be well ſatisfied with the obedience they had given his orders. They upon this were quiet, and thought there was no danger. But the next morning *Teſſè* marched his Dragoons into the Town, and let them looſe upon them, as he had done upon the Subjects of *France*. And they plied as feebly as moſt of the *French* had done. This was done while that Principality was in the poſſeſſion of the Prince of *Orange*, purſuant to an article of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, of which the King of *England* was the Guarantee. Whether the *French* had King *James*'s conſent to this, or if they preſumed upon it, was not known. It is certain, he ordered two Memorials to be given in at that Court, complaining of it in very high terms. But nothing followed on it. And, ſome months after, the King of *France* did unite *Orange* to the reſt of *Provence*, and ſuppreſſed all the rights it had, as a diſtinct Principality. The King writ upon it to the Princeſs of *Orange*, that he could do no more in that matter, unleſs he ſhould declare war upon it; which he could not think fit for a thing of ſuch ſmall importance. 1685.

Another ſeſſion of Parliament.

BUT now the ſeſſion of Parliament drew on. And there was a great expectation of the iſſue of it. For ſome weeks before it met there was ſuch a number of Refugees coming over

1685. over every day, who ſet about a moſt diſmal recital of the perſecution in *France*, and that in ſo many inſtances that were crying and odious, that, tho' all endeavours were uſed to leſſen the clamour this had raiſed, yet the King did not ſtick openly to condemn it, as both unchriſtian and unpolitick. He took pains to clear the *Jeſuits* of it, and laid the blame of it chiefly on the King, on *Madame de Maintenon*, and the Archbiſhop of *Paris*. He ſpoke often of it with ſuch vehemence, that there ſeemed to be an affectation in it. He did more. He was very kind to the Refugees. He was liberal to many of them. He ordered a Brief for a charitable collection over the Nation for them all. Upon which great ſums were ſent in. They were depoſited in good hands, and well diſtributed. The King alſo ordered them to be deniſed without paying fees, and gave them great immunities. So that in all there came over firſt and laſt between forty and fifty thouſand of that Nation. Here was ſuch a real argument of the cruel and perſecuting ſpirit of Popery, whereſoever it prevailed, that few could reſiſt this conviction. So that all men confeſſed, that the *French* perſecution came very ſeaſonably to awaken the Nation, and open mens eyes in ſo critical a conjuncture: For upon this ſeſſion of Parliament all did depend.

The King's ſpeech againſt the Teſt.

WHEN it was opened, the King told them how happy his forces had been in reducing a dangerous rebellion, in which it had appeared, how weak and inſignificant the Militia was: And therefore he ſaw the neceſſity of keeping

keeping up an Army for all their ſecurity. He had put ſome in commiſſion, of whoſe loyalty he was well aſſured: And they had ſerved him ſo well, that he would not put that affront on them, and on himſelf, to turn them out. He told them, all the world ſaw, and they had felt the happineſs of a good underſtanding between him and his Parliament: So he hoped, nothing ſhould be done on their part to interrupt that; as he, on his own part, would obſerve all that he had promiſed. 1685.

THUS he fell upon the two moſt unacceptable points that he could have found out; which were, a ſtanding Army, and a violation of the Act of the Teſt. There were ſome debates in the Houſe of Lords about thanking the King for his ſpeech. It was preſſed by the Courtiers, as a piece of reſpect that was always paid. To this ſome anſwered, that was done when there were gracious aſſurances given. Only the Earl of *Devonſhire* ſaid, he was for giving thanks, becauſe the King had ſpoken out ſo plainly, and warned them of what they might look for. It was carried in the Houſe to make an Addreſs of thanks for the ſpeech. The Lord *Guilford North*, was now dead. He was a crafty and deſigning man. He had no mind to part with the great Seal: And yet he ſaw, he could not hold it without an entire compliance with the pleaſure of the Court. An appeal againſt a decree of his had been brought before the Lords in the former ſeſſion: And it was not only reverſed with many ſevere reflections on him that made it, but the Earl of *Nottingham*,

1685. *tingham*, who hated him becauſe he had endeavoured to detract from his father's memory, had got together ſo many inſtances of his ill adminiſtration of juſtice, that he expoſed him ſeverely for it. And, it was believed, that gave the criſis to the uneaſineſs and diſtraction of mind he was labouring under. He languiſhed for ſome time; and died deſpiſed, and ill thought of by the whole Nation.

Jefferies made Lord Chancellor.

NOTHING but his ſucceſſor made him be remembred with regret: For *Jefferies* had the Seals. He had been made a Peer while he was Chief Juſtice, which had not been done for ſome ages: But he affected to be an original in every thing. A day or two after the ſeſſion was opened, the Lords went upon the conſideration of the King's ſpeech: And, when ſome began to make remarks upon it, they were told, that by giving thanks for the ſpeech they had precluded themſelves from finding fault with any part of it. This was rejected with indignation, and put an end to that complement of giving thanks for a ſpeech when there was no ſpecial reaſon for it. The Lords *Halifax*, *Nottingham*, and *Mordaunt*, were the chief arguers among the temporal Lords. The Biſhop of *London* ſpoke often likewiſe: And twice or thrice he ſaid, he ſpoke not only his own ſenſe, but the ſenſe of that whole Bench. They ſaid, the Teſt was now the beſt fence they had for their Religion: If they gave up ſo great a point, all the reſt would ſoon follow: And if the King might by his authority ſuperſede ſuch a law, fortified with ſo many clauſes, and above all with

with that of an incapacity, it was in vain to think of law any more: The government would become arbitrary and abſolute. *Jefferies* began to argue in his rough manner: But he was ſoon taken down; it appearing, that how furiouſly ſoever he raved on the Bench, where he played the tyrant, yet where others might ſpeak with him on equal terms, he was a very contemptible man: And he received as great a mortification, as ſuch a brutal man as he was capable of. 1685.

The Houſe of Commons addreſs the King for obſerving the law.

BUT as the ſcene lay in the Houſe of Commons, ſo the debates there were more important. A project was offered for making the Militia more uſeful in order to the diſbanding the Army. But, to oppoſe that, the Court ſhewed, how great a danger we had lately eſcaped, and how much of an ill leaven yet remained in the Nation, ſo that it was neceſſary a force ſhould be kept up. The Court moved for a ſubſidy, the King having been at much extraordinary charge in reducing the late Rebellion. Many, that were reſolved to aſſert the buſineſs of the Teſt with great firmneſs, thought, the voting of money firſt was the decenteſt way of managing the oppoſition to the Court: Whereas others oppoſed this, having often obſerved, that the voting of money was the giving up the whole Seſſion to the Court. The Court wrought on many weak men with this topick, that the only way to gain the King, and to diſpoſe him to agree to them in the buſineſs of the Teſt, was to begin with the ſupply. This had ſo great an effect, that it was carried only by one vote

1685. to consider the King's speech, before they should proceed to the supply. It was understood, that when they received satisfaction in other things, they were resolved to give 500000. *l.*

THEY went next to consider the Act about the Test, and the violations of it, with the King's speech upon that head. The reasoning was clear and full on the one hand. The Court offered nothing on the other hand in the way of argument, but the danger of offending the King, and of raising a misunderstanding between him and them. So the whole House went unanimously into a vote for an Address to the King, that he would maintain the laws, in particular that concerning the Test. But with that they offered to pass a Bill for indemnifying those who had broken that law; and were ready to have considered them in the supply that they intended to give.

The King much offended at it.

THE King expressed his resentments of this with much vehemence, when the address was brought to him. He said, some men intended to disturb the good correspondence that was between him and them, which would be a great prejudice to the Nation: He had declared his mind so positively in that matter, that he hoped, they would not have medled with it: Yet, he said, he would still observe all the promises that he had made. This made some reflect on the violations of the Edict of *Nantes*, by many of the late Edicts that were set out in *France*, before the last that repealed it, in which the King of *France* had always declared, that he would maintain that Edict,

even

even when the breaches made upon it were the moſt viſible and notorious. The Houſe, upon this rough anſwer, was in a high fermentation. Yet, when one *Cook* ſaid, that they were *Engliſhmen*, and were not to be threatned, becauſe this ſeemed to be a want of reſpect, they ſent him to the Tower; and obliged him to ask pardon for thoſe indecent words. But they reſolved to inſiſt on their Addreſs, and then to proceed upon the petitions concerning elections. And now thoſe, that durſt not open their mouth before, ſpoke with much force upon this head. They ſaid, it was a point upon which the Nation expected juſtice, and they had a right to claim it. And it was probable, they would have condemned a great many elections: For an intimation was ſet round, that all thoſe who had ſtuck to the intereſt of the Nation, in the main points then before them, ſhould be choſen over again, tho' it ſhould be found that their election was void, and that a new writ ſhould go out. By this means thoſe petitions were now encouraged, and were like to have a fair hearing, and a juſt deciſion: And it was believed, that the abject Courtiers would have been voted out. 1685.

THE King ſaw, that both Houſes were now ſo fixed, that he could carry nothing in either of them, unleſs he would depart from his ſpeech, and let the Act of the Teſt take place. So he prorogued the Parliament, and kept it by repeated prorogations ſtill on foot for about a year and a half, but without holding a ſeſſion. All thoſe, who had either

The Parliament prorogued.

1685. ſpoken or voted for the Teſts, were ſoon after this diſgraced, and turned out of their places, tho' many of theſe had ſerved the King hitherto with great obſequiouſneſs and much zeal. He called for many of them, and ſpoke to them very earneſtly upon that ſubject in his cloſet: Upon which the term of cloſeting was much toſſed about. Many of theſe gave him very flat and hardy denials: Others, tho' more ſilent, yet were no leſs ſteady. So that, when, after a long practice both of threatning and ill uſage on the one hand, and of promiſes and corruption on the other, the King ſaw he could not bring them into a compliance with him, he at laſt diſſolved the Parliament. By which he threw off a body of men that were in all other reſpects ſure to him, and that would have accepted a very moderate ſatisfaction from him at any time. And indeed in all *England* it would not have been eaſy to have found five hundred men, ſo weak, ſo poor, and ſo devoted to the Court, as theſe were. So happily was the Nation taken out of their hands, by the precipitated violence of a bigotted Court.

The Lord *De la Mere* tried, and acquitted.

SOON after the prorogation, the Lord *De la Mere* was brought to his trial. Some witneſſes ſwore high treaſon againſt him only upon report, that he had deſigned to make a rebellion in *Cheſhire*, and to join with the Duke of *Monmouth*. But, ſince thoſe ſwore only upon hear-ſay, that was no evidence in law. One witneſs ſwore home againſt him, and againſt two other Gentlemen, who, as he ſaid, were in company with him; and that treaſo-

treaſonable meſſages were then given to him by them all to carry to ſome others. That which gave the greateſt credit to the evidence was, that this Lord had gone from *London* ſecretly to *Cheſhire* at the time of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing, and that after he had ſtaid a day or two in that Country, he had come up as ſecretly to *London*. This looked ſuſpicious, and made it to be believed, that he went to try what could be done. The credit of that ſingle witneſs was overthrown by many unqueſtionable proofs, by which it appeared that the two Gentlemen, who he ſaid met with that Lord in *Cheſhire*, were all that while ſtill in *London*. The witneſs, to gain the more credit, had brought others into the plot, by the common fate of falſe ſwearers, who bring in ſuch circumſtances to ſupport their evidence, as they think will make it more credible, but, being ill laid, give a handle to thoſe concerned to find out their falſehood. And that was the caſe of this witneſs: For, tho' little doubt was made of the truth of that which he ſwore againſt this Lord, as to the main of his evidence, yet he had added ſuch a mixture of falſehood to it, as being fully proved deſtroyed, the evidence. As for the ſecret journey to and again between *London* and *Cheſhire*, that Lord ſaid, he had been long a priſoner in the Tower upon bare ſuſpicion: He had no mind to be lodged again there: So he reſolved in that time of jealouſy to go out of the way: And hearing that a child, of which he was very fond, was ſick in *Cheſhire*, he went thither: And hearing 1685.

1685. from his Lady that his eldeſt ſon was very ill at *London*, he made haſte back again. This was well proved by his Phyſicians and Domeſticks, tho' it was a thing of very ill appearance, that he made ſuch journies ſo quick and ſo ſecretly at ſuch a time. The Solicitor General, *Finch*, purſuant to the doctrine he had maintained in former trials, and perhaps to atone for the zeal he had ſhewed in the Houſe of Commons for maintaining the Act of the Teſt, made a violent declamation, to prove that one witneſs with preſumptions was ſufficient to convict one of high treaſon. The Peers did unanimouſly acquit the Lord. So that trial ended to the great joy of the whole Town; which was now turned to be as much againſt the Court, as it had been of late years for it. *Finch* had been continued in his employment only to lay the load of this judgment upon him: And he acted his part in it with his uſual vehemence. He was preſently after turned out. And *Powis* ſucceeded him, who was a compliant young aſpiring Lawyer, tho' in himſelf he was no ill natured man. Now the poſts in the law began to be again taken care of: For it was reſolved to act a piece of pageantry in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with which the next year began.

1686. SIR *Edward Hales*, a Gentleman of a noble family in *Kent*, declared himſelf a Papiſt, tho' he had long diſguiſed it; and had once to my ſelf ſo ſolemnly denied it, that I was led from thence to ſee, there was no credit to be given to that ſort of men, where their

A trial upon the Act for the Teſt.

Church

Church or Religion was concerned. He had an employment: And not taking the Teſt his coachman was ſet up to inform againſt him, and to claim the 500 *l.* that the law gave to the informer. When this was to be brought to trial, the Judges were ſecretly asked their opinions: And ſuch as were not clear to judge as the Court did direct, were turned out: And upon two or three canvaſſings the half of them were diſmiſſed, and others of more pliable and obedient underſtandings were put in their places. Some of theſe were weak and ignorant to a ſcandal. The ſuit went on in a feeble proſecution: And in Trinity Term judgment was given. 1686.

Many Judges turned out.

THERE was a new Chief Juſtice found out, very different indeed from *Jefferies*; Sir *Edward Herbert*. He was a well bred and a vertuous man, generous, and good natured. He was but an indifferent Lawyer; and had gone to *Ireland* to find practice and preferment there. He unhappily got into a ſet of very high notions with relation to the King's prerogative. His gravity and vertues gave him great advantages, chiefly his ſucceeding ſuch a monſter as had gone before him. So he, being found to be a fit tool, was, without any application of his own, raiſed up all at once to this high poſt. After the coachman's cauſe had been argued with a moſt indecent coldneſs, by thoſe who were made uſe of on deſign to expoſe and betray it, it was ſaid, in favour of the prerogative, that the government of *England* was entirely in the King: That the Crown was an Imperial Crown,

Herbert, Chief Juſtice, gives Judgment for the King's diſpenſing powers.

1686. the importance of which was, that it was abſolute: All penal laws were powers lodged in the Crown to enable the King to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to limit or bind up the King's power: The King could pardon all offences againſt the law, and forgive the penalties: And why could not he as well diſpenſe with them? Acts of Parliament had been oft ſuperſeded: The Judges had ſome times given directions in their charges at Circuits to enquire after ſome Acts of Parliament no more: Of which one late inſtance happen'd during the former reign: An Act paſſed concerning the ſize of carts and waggons, with many penalties upon the tranſgreſſors: And yet, when it appeared that the model preſcribed in the Act was not practicable, the Judges gave direction not to execute the Act.

THESE were the arguments brought to ſupport the King's diſpenſing power. In oppoſition to this it was ſaid, tho' not at the bar, yet in the common diſcourſe of the Town, that if penalties did ariſe only by vertue of the King's Proclamation, it was reaſonable that the power of diſpenſing ſhould be only in the King: But ſince the prerogative was both conſtituted and limited by law, and ſince penalties were impoſed to force the obſervation of laws that were neceſſary for the publick ſafety, it was an overturning the whole government, and the changing it from a legal into a deſpotick form, to ſay that laws, made and declared not to be capable of being diſpenſed with, where one of the penal-

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ties was an incapacity, which by a maxim of law cannot be taken away even by a pardon, should at the pleasure of the Prince be dispensed with: A fine was also set by the Act on offenders, but not given to the King, but to the informer, which thereby became his. So that the King could no more pardon that, than he could discharge the debts of the subjects, and take away property. Laws of small consequence, when a visible error, not observed in making them was afterwards found out, like that of the size of carts, might well be superseded: For the intention of the Legislature being the good of the subject, that is always to be presumed for the repeal of an impracticable law. But it was not reasonable to infer from thence, that a law made for the security of the government, with the most effectual clauses that could be contrived, on design to force the execution of it, even in bar to the power of the prerogative, should be made so precarious a thing, especially when it was so lately asserted with so much vigour by the representatives of the Nation. It was said, that, tho' this was now only applied to one statute, yet the same force of reason would hold to annull all our laws: And the penalty being that which is the life of the law, the dispensing with penalties might soon be carried so far as to dissolve the whole government: And the security that the subjects had was only from the laws, or rather from the penalties; since laws without these were feeble things, which tied men only according to their own discretion. 1686.

1686. THUS was this matter toſſed about in the arguments, with which all peoples mouths were now filled. But Judges, who are beforehand determined how to give their opinions, will not be much moved even by the ſtrongeſt arguments. The ludicrous ones uſed on this occaſion at the bar were rather a farce, fitter for a mock trial in a play, than ſuch as became men of learning in ſo important a matter. Great expectations were raiſed, to hear with what arguments the Judges would maintain the judgment that they ſhould give. But they made nothing of it; and without any arguing gave judgment for the defendant, as if it had been in a cauſe of courſe.

Admiral *Herbert's* firmneſs.

NOW the matter was as much ſettled, as a deciſion in the King's Bench could ſettle it. Yet ſo little regard had the Chief Juſtice's neareſt friends to his opinion in this particular, that his brother, Admiral *Herbert*, being preſſed by the King to promiſe that he would vote the repeal of the Teſt, anſwered the King very plainly, that he could not do it either in honour or conſcience. The King ſaid, he knew he was a man of honour, but the reſt of his life did not look like a man that had great regard to conſcience. He anſwered boldly, he had his faults, but they were ſuch, that other people, who talked more of conſcience, were guilty of the like. He was indeed a man abandoned to luxury and vice. But, tho' he was poor, and had much to loſe, having places to the value of 4000 *l.* a year, he choſe to loſe them all rather than comply. This made much noiſe: For

as

as he had a great reputation for his conduct in sea affairs, so he had been most passionately zealous in the King's service from his first setting out to that day. It appeared by this, that no past services would be considered, if men were not resolved to comply in every thing. The door was now opened: So all regard to the Test was laid aside. And all men that intended to recommend themselves took employments, and accepted of this dispensing power. This was done even by some of those who continued still Protestants, tho' the far greater number of them continued to qualify themselves according to law. 1686.

MANY of the Papists, that were men of quiet or fearful tempers, did not like these methods. They thought the Priests went too fast, and the King was too eager in pursuing every thing that was suggested by them. One *Petre*, descended from a noble family, a man of no learning, nor any way famed for his vertue, but who made all up in boldness and zeal, was the *Jesuit* of them all that seemed animated with the most courage. He had, during the Popish plot, been introduced to the King, and had suggested things, that shewed him a resolute and undertaking man. Upon that the King looked on him as the fittest man to be set at the head of his counsels. So he was now considered, as the person who of all others had the greatest credit. He applied himself most to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and was for some time chiefly directed by him. Father *Petre* a Jesuit in high favour.

THE maxim that the King set up, and about which he entertained all that were about him, The King declared for a toleration.

1686. him, was, the great happineſs of an univerſal toleration. On this the King uſed to enlarge in a great variety of topicks. He ſaid, nothing was more reaſonable, more chriſtian, and more politick: And he reflected much on the Church of *England* for the ſeverities with which Diſſenters had been treated. This, how true or juſt ſoever it might be, yet was ſtrange doctrine in the mouth of a profeſſed Papiſt, and of a Prince on whoſe account, and by whoſe direction, the Church party had been, indeed but too obſequiouſly, puſhed on to that rigour. But, ſince the Church party could not be brought to comply with the deſign of the Court, applications were now made to the Diſſenters: And all on a ſudden the Churchmen were diſgraced, and the Diſſenters were in high favour. Chief Juſtice *Herbert* went the Weſtern Circuit after *Jefferies*'s bloody one. And now all was grace and favour to them. Their former ſufferings were much reflected on, and pitied. Every thing was offered that could alleviate their ſufferings. Their teachers were now encouraged to ſet up their Conventicles again, which had been diſcontinued, or held very ſecretly, for four or five years. Intimations were every where given, that the King would not have them, or their meetings, to be diſturbed. Some of them began to grow inſolent upon this ſhew of favour. But wiſer men among them ſaw thro' all this, and perceived the deſign of the Papiſts was now, to ſet on the Diſſenters againſt the Church, as much as they had formerly ſet the Church againſt

againſt them: And therefore, tho' they returned to their Conventicles, yet they had a juſt jealouſy of the ill deſigns that lay hid under all this ſudden and unexpected ſhew of grace and kindneſs: And they took care not to provoke the Church party. 1686.

MANY of the Clergy acted now a part that made good amends for paſt errors. They began to preach generally againſt Popery, which the Diſſenters did not. They ſet themſelves to ſtudy the points of controverſy. And upon that there followed a great variety of ſmall books, that were eaſily purchaſed and ſoon read. They examined all the points of Popery with a ſolidity of judgment, a clearneſs of arguing, a depth of learning, and a vivacity of writing, far beyond any thing that had before that time appeared in our language. The truth is, they were very unequally yoked: For, if they are juſtly to be reckoned among the beſt writers that have yet appeared on the Proteſtant ſide, thoſe they wrote againſt were certainly among the weakeſt that had ever appeared on the Popiſh ſide. Their books were poorly but inſolently writ; and had no other learning in them, but what was taken out of ſome *French* writers, which they put into very bad *Engliſh*: So that a victory over them might have been but a mean performance. The Clergy managed the points of controverſy with great zeal and ſucceſs.

THIS had a mighty effect on the whole Nation: Even thoſe who could not ſearch things to the bottom, yet were amazed at the great inequality that appeared in this engagement. The Papiſts, who knew what ſervice the

1686. the Biſhop of *Meaux*'s book had done in *France*, reſolved to purſue the ſame method here in ſeveral treatiſes, which they entitled *Papiſts repreſented and miſrepreſented*; to which ſuch clear anſwers were writ, that what effect ſoever that artifice might have, where it was ſupported by the authority of a great King, and the terror of ill uſage, and a dragoonade in concluſion, yet it ſucceeded ſo ill in *England*, that it gave occaſion to enquire into the true opinions of that Church, not as ſome artful writers had diſguiſed them, but as they were laid down in the books that are of authority among them, ſuch as the deciſions of Councils received among them, and their eſtabliſhed Offices, and as they are held at *Rome*, and in all thoſe countries where Popery prevails without any intermixture with Hereticks, or apprehenſion of them, as in *Spain* and *Portugal*. This was done in ſo authentical a manner, that Popery it ſelf was never ſo well underſtood by the Nation, as it came to be upon this occaſion.

The perſons chiefly engaged in this.

THE perſons, who both managed and directed this controverſial war, were chiefly *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, *Tenniſon*, and *Patrick*. Next them were *Sherlock*, *Williams*, *Claget*, *Gee*, *Aldrich*, *Atterbury*, *Whitby*, *Hooper*, and above all theſe *Wake*, who having been long in *France*, Chaplain to the Lord *Preſton*, brought over with him many curious diſcoveries that were both uſeful and ſurpriſing. Beſides the chief writers of thoſe books of controverſy, there were many Sermons preached and printed on thoſe heads, that did very

very much edify the whole Nation. And this matter was managed with that concert, that for the most part once a week some new book or Sermon came out, which both instructed and animated those who read them. There were but very few Proselytes gained to Popery: And these were so inconsiderable, that they were rather a reproach than an honour to them. *Walker*, the head of *University* College, and five or six more at *Oxford*, declared themselves to be of that Religion; but with this branch of infamy, that they had continued for several years complying with the doctrine and worship of the Church of *England* after they were reconciled to the Church of *Rome*. The Popish Priests were enraged at this opposition made by the Clergy, when they saw their Religion so exposed, and themselves so much despised. They said, it was ill manners and want of duty to treat the King's Religion with so much contempt. 1686.

Dr. *Sharp* in trouble.

IT was resolved to proceed severely against some of the preachers, and to try if by that means they might intimidate the rest. Dr. *Sharp* was Rector of St. *Giles*'s, and was both a very pious man, and one of the most popular preachers of the age, who had a peculiar talent of reading his Sermons with much life and zeal. He received one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper sent him, as he believed, by a Priest, containing a sort of challenge upon some points of controversy touched by him in some of his Sermons. Upon this, he, not knowing to whom he should send an answer, preached a Sermon

1686. Sermon in anſwer to it: And, after he had confuted it, he concluded ſhewing how unreaſonable it was for Proteſtants to change their Religion on ſuch grounds. This was carried to Court, and repreſented there, as a reflection on the King for changing on thoſe grounds.

The Biſhop of *London* required to ſuſpend him.

THE information, as to the words pretended to be ſpoken by *Sharp*, was falſe, as he himſelf aſſured me. But, without enquiring into that, the Earl of *Sunderland* ſent an order to the Biſhop of *London*, in the King's name, requiring him to ſuſpend *Sharp* immediately, and then to examine the matter. The Biſhop anſwered, that he had no power to proceed in ſuch a ſummary way: But, if an accuſation were brought into his Court in a regular way, he would proceed to ſuch a cenſure as could be warranted by the Eccleſiaſtical law: Yet, he ſaid, he would do that which was in his power, and ſhould be upon the matter a ſuſpenſion; for he deſired *Sharp* to abſtain from officiating, till the matter ſhould be better underſtood. But to lay ſuch a cenſure on a Clergy-man, as a ſuſpenſion, without proof, in a judiciary proceeding, was contrary both to law and juſtice. *Sharp* went to Court to ſhew the notes of his Sermon, which he was ready to ſwear were thoſe from which he had read it, by which the falſehood of the information would appear. But, ſince he was not ſuſpended, he was not admitted. Yet he was let alone. And it was reſolved to proceed againſt the Biſhop of *London* for contempt.

Which he could not obey.

JEFFE-

JEFFERIES was much ſunk at Court, and *Herbert* was the moſt in favour. But now *Jefferies*, to recommend himſelf, offered a bold and illegal advice, for ſetting up an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, without calling it the High Commiſſion, pretending it was only a ſtanding Court of Delegates. The Act that put down the High Commiſſion in the year 1640. had provided by a clauſe, as full as could be conceived, that no Court ſhould be ever ſet up for thoſe matters, beſides the ordinary Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Yet in contempt of that a Court was erected, with full power to proceed in a ſummary and arbitrary way in all Eccleſiaſtical matters, without limitations to any rule of law in their proceedings. This ſtretch of the ſupremacy, ſo contrary to law, was aſſumed by a King, whoſe Religion made him condemn all that ſupremacy that the law had veſted in the Crown. 1686.

An Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion ſet up.

THE perſons with whom this power was lodged were the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, and Lord Chief Juſtice; the Lord Chancellor being made Preſident in the Court *ſine quo non*; for they would truſt this to no other management. The Biſhop of *London* was marked out to be the firſt ſacrifice. *Sancroft* lay ſilent at *Lambeth*. He ſeemed zealous againſt Popery in private diſcourſe: But he was of ſuch a timorous temper, and ſo ſet on the enriching his nephew, that he ſhewed no ſort of courage. He would not go to this Court, when it was firſt opened, and declare

1686. againſt it, and give his reaſons why he could not ſit and act in it, judging it to be againſt law: But he contented himſelf with his not going to it. The other two Biſhops were more compliant. *Dureſme* was lifted up with it, and ſaid, now his name would be recorded in hiſtory: And, when ſome of his friends repreſented to him the danger of acting in a Court ſo illegally conſtituted, he ſaid, he could not live if he ſhould loſe the King's gracious ſmiles: So low, and ſo fawning was he. *Dolben*, Archbiſhop of *York*, died this year. So, as *Sprat* had ſucceeded him in *Rocheſter*, he had ſome hopes let fall of ſucceeding likewiſe in *York*. But the Court had laid it down for a maxim to keep all the great Sees, that ſhould become vacant, ſtill empty, till they might fill them to their own mind: So he was miſtaken in his expectations, if he ever had them.

The Biſhop of *London* brought before it.

THE Biſhop of *London* was the firſt perſon that was ſummoned to appear before this new Court. He was attended on by many perſons of great Quality, which gave a new offence: And the Lord Chancellor treated him in that brutal way, that was now become as it were natural to him. The Biſhop ſaid, here was a new Court of which he knew nothing: So he deſired a copy of the Commiſſion that authoriſed them. And, after he had drawn out the matters by delays for ſome time, hoping that the King might accept of ſome general and reſpectful ſubmiſſion, and ſo let the matter fall, at laſt he came to make his defence, all ſecret methods

to

to divert the ſtorm proving ineffectual. The 1686.
firſt part of it was an exception to the authority of the Court, as being not only founded on no law, but contrary to the expreſs words of the Act of Parliament that put down the High Commiſſion. Yet this point was rather inſinuated, than urged with the force that might have been uſed: For it was ſaid, that, if the Biſhop ſhould inſiſt too much on that, it would draw a much heavier meaſure of indignation on him; therefore it was rather opened, and modeſtly repreſented to the Court, than ſtrongly argued. But it may be eaſily believed, that thoſe who ſate by virtue of this illegal Commiſſion would maintain their own authority. The other part of the Biſhop of *London*'s plea was, that he had obeyed the King's orders, as far as he legally could do; for he had obliged Dr. *Sharp* to act as a man that was ſuſpended; but that he could not lay an Eccleſiaſtical cenſure on any of his Clergy without a proceſs, and articles, and ſome proof brought. This was juſtified by the conſtant practice of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and by the judgment of all lawyers. But arguments, how ſtrong ſoever, are feeble things, when a ſentence is reſolved on before the cauſe is heard. So it was propoſed, that he ſhould be ſuſpended during the King's pleaſure. The Lord Chancellor and the poor-ſpirited Biſhop of *Dureſme* were for this: But the Earl, and Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, were for acquitting him. There was not ſo much as a colour of law to ſupport the ſentence: So none could be given.

1686. BUT the King was resolved to carry this point, and spoke roundly about it to the Earl of *Rochester*. He saw he must either concur in the sentence, or part with the White Staff. So he yielded. And the Bishop was suspended *ab officio*. They did not think fit to meddle with his revenues. For the lawyers had settled that point, that benefices were of the nature of freeholds. So, if the sentence had gone to the temporalties, the Bishop would have had the matter tried over again in the King's Bench, where he was like to find good justice, *Herbert* not being satisfied with the legality and justice of the sentence. While this matter was in dependance, the Princess of *Orange* thought it became her to interpose a little in the Bishop's favour. He had confirmed, and married her. So she wrote to the King, earnestly begging him to be gentle to the Bishop, who she could not think would offend willingly. She also wrote to the Bishop, expressing the great share she took in the trouble he was fallen into. The Prince wrote to him to the same purpose. The King wrote an answer to the Princess, reflecting severely on the Bishop, not without some sharpness on her for meddling in such matters. Yet the Court seemed uneasy, when thy saw they had gained so poor a victory: For now the Bishop was more considered than ever. His Clergy, for all the suspension, were really more governed by the secret intimations of his pleasure, than they had been by his authority before. So they resolved to come off as well as they could. Dr. *Sharp* was admitted to offer a general

And was suspended by it.

general petition, importing how ſorry he was to find himſelf under the King's diſpleaſure: Upon which he was diſmiſſed with a gentle reprimand, and ſuffered to return to the exerciſe of his function. According to the form of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, a perſon under ſuch a ſuſpenſion muſt make a ſubmiſſion within ſix months: Otherwiſe he may be proceeded againſt as obſtinate. So, ſix months after the ſentence, the Biſhop ſent a petition to the King, deſiring to be reſtored to the exerciſe of his Epiſcopal function. But he made no acknowledgement of any fault. So this had no other effect, but that it ſtopt all further proceedings: Only the ſuſpenſion lay ſtill on him. I have laid all this matter together, tho' the progreſs of it ran into the year eighty ſeven. 1686.

Affairs in *Scotland* went on much at the ſame rate as they did in *England*. Some few proſelytes were gained. But as they were very few, ſo they could do little ſervice to the ſide to which they joined themſelves. The Earl of *Perth* prevailed with his Lady, as ſhe was dying, to change her religion. And in a very few weeks after her death he married very indecently a ſiſter of the Duke of *Gordon*'s. They were firſt couſins: And yet without ſtaying for a diſpenſation from *Rome* they ventured on a marriage, upon the aſſurances that they ſaid their Confeſſor gave them that it would be eaſily obtained. But Pope *Innocent* was a ſtiff man, and did not grant thoſe things eaſily: So that Cardinal *Howard* could not at firſt obtain it. The Pope Affairs in *Scotland*,

1686. ſaid, theſe were ſtrange converts, that would venture on ſuch a thing without firſt obtaining a diſpenſation. The Cardinal pretended, that new converts did not ſo ſoon underſtand the laws of the Church: But he laid before the Pope the ill conſequences of offending converts of ſuch importance. So he prevailed at laſt, not without great difficulty. The Earl of *Perth* ſet up a private Chapel in the Court for Maſs, which was not kept ſo private, but that many frequented it.

A tumult at *Edenburgh.*

THE Town of *Edenburgh* was much alarmed at this; and the rabble broke in with ſuch fury, that they defaced every thing in the Chapel. And if the Earl of *Perth* had not been conveyed away in diſguiſe, he had very probably fallen a ſacrifice to popular rage. The Guards upon the alarm came, and diſperſed the rabble. Some were taken: And one that was a ringleader in the tumult was executed for it. When he was at the place of execution, he told one of the Miniſters of the Town, that was with him aſſiſting him with his prayers, that he was offered his life, if he would accuſe the Duke of *Queensberry*, as the perſon that had ſet on the tumult, but he would not ſave his life by ſo falſe a calumny. Mr. *Malcom*, the Miniſter, was an honeſt but weak man. So, when the criminal charged him to make this diſcovery, he did not call any of thoſe who were preſent to bear witneſs of it: But in the ſimplicity of his heart he went from the execution to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and told him what had paſt. The Archbiſhop acquainted the Duke of *Queens-*

Queensberry with it: And he writ to Court, and complained of it. The King ordered the matter to be examined. So the poor Minister, having no witness to attest what the criminal had said to him, was declared the forger of that calumny: And upon that he was turned out. But how severely soever those in authority may handle a poor incautious man, yet the publick is apt to judge true. And, in this case, as the Minister's weakness and misfortune was pitied, so the Earl of *Perth*'s malice and treachery was as much detested. 1686.

A Parliament held there.

IN summer this year, the Earl of *Murray*, another new convert, was sent the King's Commissioner to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, and to try if it would be more compliant than the *English* Parliament had been. The King by his letter recommended to them in very earnest words the taking off all penal laws and tests relating to religion. And all possible methods were used to privail on a majority. But two accidents happen'd before the opening the Parliament, which made great impression on the minds of many.

Whitford's life & death.

WHITFORD, son to one of their Bishops before the wars, had turned a Papist. He was the person that killed *Dorislaus* in *Holland*. And, that he might get out of *Cromwell*'s reach, he had gone into the Duke of *Savoy*'s service; and was there when the last massacre was committed on the *Vaudois*. He had committed many barbarous murders with his own hands, and had a small pension given him after the Restoration. He died a few days

1686. before the Parliament met; and called for ſome Miniſters, and to them declared his forſaking of Popery, and his abhorrence of it for its cruelty. He ſaid, he had been guilty of ſome execrable murders in *Piedmont*, both of women and children, which had perſued him with an intolerable horror of mind ever after that. He had gone to Prieſts of all ſorts, the ſtricteſt as well as the eaſieſt: And they had juſtified him in what he had done, and had given him abſolution. But his conſcience purſued him ſo, that he died as in deſpair, crying out againſt that bloody religion.

Sibbald's change & return.

THE other was more ſolemn. Sir *Robert Sibbald*, a Doctor of Phyſick, and the moſt learned antiquary in *Scotland*, who had lived in a courſe of philoſophical vertue, but in great doubts as to revealed religion, was prevailed on by the Earl of *Perth* to turn Papiſt, in hopes to find that certainty among them, which he could not arrive at upon his own principles. But he had no ſooner done this, than he began to be aſhamed that he had made ſuch a ſtep upon ſo little enquiry. So he went to *London*, and retired for ſome months from all company, and went into a deep courſe of ſtudy, by which he came to ſee into the errors of Popery, with ſo full a conviction that he came down to *Scotland* ſome weeks before the Parliament, and could not be at quiet till he had publiſhed his recantation openly in a Church. The Biſhop of *Edenburgh* was ſo much a Courtier, that, apprehending many might go to hear it, and that it might give offence at Court, he ſent him to do it in

in a Church in the Country. But the recantation of ſo learned a man, upon ſo much ſtudy, had a great effect upon many. 1686.

ROSSE and *Paterſon*, the two governing Biſhops, reſolved to let the King ſee how compliant they would be. And they procured an addreſs to be ſigned by ſeveral of their Bench, offering to concur with the King in all that he deſired with relation to thoſe of his own religion, (for the courtly ſtile now was not to name Popery any other way than by calling it the King's religion,) providing the laws might ſtill continue in force and be executed againſt the Presbyterians. With this *Paterſon* was ſent up. He communicated the matter to the Earl of *Middleton*, who adviſed him never to ſhew that paper: It would be made uſe of againſt them, and render them odious: ſince the King and all his Prieſts were ſo ſenſible that it was an indecent thing for them to pretend to any ſpecial favour, that they were reſolved to move for nothing but a general toleration. And ſo he perſuaded him to go back without preſenting it. This was told me by one who had it from the Earl himſelf.

The Parliament complys not with the King's deſires.

WHEN the ſeſſion of Parliament was opened, Duke *Hamilton* was ſilent in the debate. He promiſed, he would not oppoſe the motion: But he would not be active to promote it. The Duke of *Queensberry* was alſo ſilent: But the King was made believe that he managed the oppoſition under hand. *Roſſe* and *Paterſon* did ſo entirely forget what became their characters, that they uſed their

1686. utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Parliament to comply with the King's deſire. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* oppoſed it, but fearfully. The Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *Bruce*, dit it openly and reſolutely: And ſo did the Biſhop of *Galloway*. The reſt were ſilent, but were reſolved to vote for the continuance of the laws. Such was the meanneſs of moſt of the Nobility, and of the other Members, that few did hope that a reſiſtance to the Court could be maintained. Yet the Parliament would conſent to nothing, further than to a ſuſpenſion of thoſe laws during the King's life. The King deſpiſed this. So the ſeſſion was put off, and the Parliament was quickly diſſolved. And, ſoon after that, both the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* and the Biſhop of *Dunkeld* were turned out by an expreſs command from the King. And *Paterſon* was made Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*. And one *Hamilton*, noted for profaneneſs and impiety, that ſometimes broke out into blaſphemy, was made Biſhop of *Dunkeld*. No reaſon was aſſigned for turning out thoſe Biſhops, but the King's pleaſure.

A zeal in *Scotland* againſt Popery.

The Nation, which was become very corrupt, and both ignorant and inſenſible in the matters of religion, began now to return to its old zeal againſt Popery. Few proſelytes were made after this. The Epiſcopal Clergy were in many places ſo ſunk into ſloth and ignorance, that they were not capable of conducting this zeal. Some of them about *Edenburgh*, and in divers other places, began to mind thoſe matters, and recovered ſome degrees

degrees of credit by the oppoſition they made to Popery. But the Presbyterians, tho' they were now freed from the great ſeverities they had long ſmarted under, yet expreſſed on all occaſions their unconquerable averſion to the Romiſh religion: So the Court was ſoon convinced, that they were not to be depended on. 1686.

But, what oppoſition ſoever the King met with in the Iſle of *Britain*, things went on more to his mind in *Ireland*. The Earl of *Clarendon* upon his firſt coming over gave publick and poſitive aſſurances, that the King would maintain their Act of Settlement. This he did very often, and very ſolemnly; and proceeded accordingly. In the mean while the Earl of *Tirconnel* went on more roundly. He not only put *Iriſh* Papiſts in ſuch poſts in the Army as became void, but upon the ſlighteſt pretences he broke the *Engliſh* Proteſtant Officers to make room for the others: And in concluſion, without ſo much as pretending a colour for it, he turned them all out. And now an Army, paid by virtue of the Act of Settlement to ſecure it, was wreſted out of legal hands, and put in the hands of thoſe who were engaged both in religion and intereſt to deſtroy the Settlement, and thoſe concerned in it; which was too groſs a violation of law to be in any ſort palliated. So the *Engliſh* Proteſtants of *Ireland* looked on themſelves as at mercy, ſince the Army was now made up of their enemies. And all that the Lord Lieutenant, or the Lord Chancellor could ſay, did not quiet theirs fears: Good words could not give ſecurity againſt ſuch

Affairs in *Ireland*.

1686. deeds as they ſaw every day. Upon this the Earl of *Clarendon* and the Earl of *Tirconnell* fell into perpetual jarrings, and were making ſuch complaints one of another, that the King reſolved to put an end to thoſe diſorders by recalling both the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Porter*. He made the Earl of *Tirconnell* Lord Lieutenant, and *Fitton* Lord Chancellor, who were both not only profeſſed but zealous Papiſts. *Fitton* knew no other law but the King's pleaſure.

This ſtruck all people there with great terror, when a man of *Tirconnell*'s temper, ſo entirely truſted and depended on by the *Iriſh*, capable of the boldeſt undertakings, and of the cruelleſt execution, had now the government put ſo entirely in his hands. The Papiſts of *England* either diſſembled very artificiouſly, or they were much troubled at this, which gave ſo great an alarm every where. It was viſible, that Father *Petre* and the Jeſuits were reſolved to engage the King ſo far, that matters ſhould be put paſt all retreating and compounding; that ſo the King might think no more of governing by Parliament, but by a military force; and, if that ſhould not ſtick firm to him, by aſſiſtance from *France*, and by an *Iriſh* army.

The King made his miſtreſs Counteſs of *Dorcheſter*.

AN accident happen'd at this time, that gave the Queen great offence, and put the Prieſts much out of countenance. The King continued to go ſtill to Mrs. *Sidley*. And ſhe gained ſo much on him, that at laſt ſhe prevailed to be made Counteſs of *Dorcheſter*. As ſoon as the Queen heard of this, ſhe gave order

order to bring all the Prieſts, that were admitted to a particular confidence, into her cloſet. And, when ſhe had them about her, ſhe ſent to deſire the King to come and ſpeak to her. When he came, he was ſurpriſed to ſee ſuch a company about her, but much more when they fell all on their knees before him. And the Queen broke out into a bitter mourning for this new honour, which they expected would be followed with the ſetting her up openly as Miſtreſs. The Queen was then in an ill habit of body; and had an illneſs that, as was thought, would end in a conſumption. And it was believed that her ſickneſs was of ſuch a nature, that it gave a very melancholy preſage, that, if ſhe ſhould live, ſhe could have no children. The Prieſts ſaid to the King, that a blemiſh in his life blaſted their deſigns: And the more it appeared, and the longer it was continued, the more ineffectual all their endeavours would prove. The King was much moved with this, and was out of countenance for what he had done. But, to quiet them all, he promiſed them, that he would ſee the Lady no more; and pretended, that he gave her this title in order to the breaking with her the more decently. And, when the Queen did not ſeem to believe this, he promiſed that he would ſend her to *Ireland*, which was done accordingly. But, after a ſtay there for ſome months, ſhe came over again: And that ill commerce was ſtill continued. The Prieſts were no doubt the more apprehenſive of this, becauſe ſhe was bold 1686.

and

1686. and lively, and was always treating them and their proceedings with great contempt.

THE Court was now much ſet on making of converts; which failed in moſt inſtances; and produced repartees, that, whether true or falſe, were much repeated, and were heard with great ſatisfaction.

Attempts made on many to change their religion.

The Earl of *Mulgrave* was Lord Chamberlain. He was apt to comply in every thing that he thought might be acceptable; for he went with the King to Maſs, and kneeled at it. And, being looked on as indifferent to all religions, the Prieſts made an attack on him. He heard them gravely arguing for tranſubſtantiation. He told them, he was willing to receive inſtruction: He had taken much pains to bring himſelf to believe in God, who made the world and all men in it: But it muſt not be an ordinary force of argument, that could make him believe, that man was quits with God, and made God again.

The Earl of *Middleton* had married into a Popiſh family, and was a man of great parts and a generous temper, but of looſe principles in religion. So a Prieſt was ſent to inſtruct him. He began with tranſubſtantiation, of which he ſaid he would convince him immediately: And began thus, You believe the Trinity. *Middleton* ſtopt him, and ſaid, Who told you ſo? At which he ſeemed amazed. So the Earl ſaid, he expected he ſhould convince him of his belief, but not queſtion him of his own. With this the Prieſt was ſo dif-

disordered, that he could proceed no further. 1686.
One day the King gave the Duke of *Norfolk* the sword of State to carry before him to the Chapel: And he stood at the door. Upon which the King said to him, My Lord, your father would have gone further: To which the Duke answered, Your Majesty's father was the better man, and he would not have gone so far. *Kirk* was also spoken to, to change his religion; and replied briskly, that he was already pre-engaged, for he had promised the King of *Morocco*, that, if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

Particularly on the Earl of *Rochester*.

BUT the person that was the most considered, was the Earl of *Rochester*. He told me, that upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s defeat the King did so immediately turn to other measures, that, tho' before that the King talked to him of all his affairs with great freedom, and commonly every morning of the business that was to be done that day, yet the very day after his execution, the King changed his method, and never talked more to him of any business, but what concerned the Treasury: So that he saw he had now no more the root he formerly had. He was looked on, as so much united to the Clergy, that the Papists were all set against him. He had, in a want of money, procured a considerable loan, by which he was kept in his post longer than was intended. At last, as he related the matter to me, the King spoke to him, and desired he would suffer himself to be instructed in religion. He answered,

he

1686. he was fully ſatisfied about his religion. But upon the King's preſſing it, that he would hear his Prieſts, he ſaid, he deſired then to have ſome of the *Engliſh* Clergy preſent; to which the King conſented: Only he excepted to *Tillotſon*, and *Stillingfleet*. Lord *Rocheſter* ſaid, he would take thoſe who ſhould happen to be in waiting; for the forms of the Chapel were ſtill kept up. And Doctor *Patrick* and *Jane* were the men. Upon this a day was ſet for the conference.

But his enemies had another ſtory. He had notice given him, that he would ſhortly loſe the White Saff: Upon which his Lady, who was then ſick, wrote to the Queen, and begged ſhe would honour her ſo far as to come, and let her have ſome diſcourſe with her. The Queen came, and ſtaid above two hours with her. She complained of the ill offices that were done them. The Queen ſaid, all the Proteſtants were now turning againſt them, ſo that they knew not how they could truſt any of them. Upon which that Lady ſaid, her Lord was not ſo wedded to any opinion, as not to be ready to be better inſtructed. And it was ſaid, that this gave the riſe to the King's propoſing a conference: For it has been obſerved to be a common method of making proſelytes with the more pomp, to propoſe a conference: But this was generally done, after they were well aſſured, that, let the conference go which way it might, the perſon's deciſion for whom it was appointed ſhould be on their ſide. The Earl denied, he knew any thing of all this to me: And his Lady

Lady died not long after. It was further ſaid by his enemies, that the day before the conference he had an advertiſement from a ſure hand, that nothing he could do would maintain him in his poſt, and that the King had engaged himſelf to put the Treaſury in commiſſion, and to bring ſome of the Popiſh Lords into it. *Patrick* told me, that at the conference there was no occaſion for them to ſay much. 1686.

THE Prieſts began the attack. And, when they had done, the Earl ſaid, if they had nothing ſtronger to urge, he would not trouble thoſe learned Gentlemen to ſay any thing; for he was ſure he could anſwer all that he had heard. And ſo anſwered it all with much heat and ſpirit, not without ſome ſcorn; ſaying, were theſe grounds to perſuade men to change their religion? This he urged over and over again with great vehemence. The King, ſeeing in what temper he was, broke off the conference, chargeing all that were preſent to ſay nothing of it.

SOON after that he loſt his White Staff; but had a penſion of 4000 *l.* a year for his own life and his ſon's, beſides his grant upon the Lord *Grey*, and another valued at 20000 *l.* So here were great regards had to him: No place having ever been ſold, even by a perſon in favour, to ſuch advantage. The ſum that he had procured to be lent the King being 400000 *l.* and it being all ordered to go towards the repair of the Fleet, this began to be much talked of. The ſtores were very ill furniſhed: And the veſſels themſelves

He was turned out.

1686. were in decay. But now orders were given, with great diſpatch to put the whole Fleet in condition to go to ſea, tho' the King was then in full peace with all his neighbours. Such preparations ſeemed to be made upon ſome great deſign.

Deſigns talked of againſt *Holland.*

THE Prieſts ſaid every where, but chiefly at *Rome*, that the deſign was againſt the States; and that both *France* and *England* would make war on them all of the ſudden; for it was generally known that the *Dutch* fleet was in no good condition. The intereſts of *France* and of the Prieſts made this to be the more eaſily believed. The embroiling the King with the Prince of *Orange* was that which the *French* deſired above all other things, hoping that ſuch a war, being ſucceſsfull, might put the King on excluding the Prince from the ſucceſſion to the Crown in the right of his wife, which was the thing that both the *French* and the Prieſts deſired moſt: For they ſaw that, unleſs the Queen had a ſon, all their deſigns muſt ſtand ſtill at preſent, and turn abortive in concluſion, as long as the Nation had ſuch a ſucceſſor in view.

This carries me now to open the ſtate of affairs in *Holland*, and at the Prince of *Orange*'s Court. I muſt firſt ſay ſomewat of my ſelf: For this ſummer, after I had rambled above a year: I came into *Holland*. I ſtaid three or four months in *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, after I came out of *Italy*. I ſtayd alſo ſome time among the *Lutherans* at *Strasbourg* and *Francfort*, and among the *Calviniſts* at *Heidleberg*, beſides the further opportunities I had

I ſtaid ſome time in *Geneva.*

to

to know their way in *Holland*. I made it my business to observe all their methods, and to know all the eminent men among them. I saw the Churches of *France* in their best state, while they were every day looking when this dreadful storm should break out, which has scattered them up and down the world. I was all the winter at *Geneva*, where we had constantly fresh stories brought us of the miseries of those who were suffering in *France*. Refugees were coming over every day poor, and naked, and half starved before they got thither. And that small State was under great apprehensions of being swalloued up, having no strength of their own, and being justly afraid that those of *Bern* would grow weary of defending them, if they should be vigorously attacked. The rest of *Switzerland* was not in such imminent danger. But, as they were full of Refugees, and all sermons and discourses were much upon the persecution in *France*, so *Basle* was exposed in such manner, that the *French* could possess themselves of it when they pleased, without the least resistance. Those of *Strasbourg*, as they had already lost their liberty, so they were every day looking for same fatal edict, like that which the *French* had fallen under. The Churches of the *Palatinate*, as they are now the frontier of the Empire, exposed to be destroyed by every new war, so they are fallen into the hands of a bigotted family. All the other Churches on the *Rhine* see how near they are to ruine. And as the United Provinces were a few years before this very 1686.

1686. near being ſwallowed up, ſo they were now well aſſured that two great Kings deſigned to ruin them.

The ſtate and temper I obſerved among the Reformed.

UNDER ſo cloudy a proſpect it ſhould be expected, that a ſpirit of true devotion and of a real reformation ſhould appear more, both among the Clergy and Laity; that they ſhould all apprehend that God was highly offended with them, and was therefore puniſhing ſome, and threatning others, in a moſt unuſual manner. It might have been expected, that thoſe unhappy conteſts between *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, *Arminians* and *Anti-Arminians*, with ſome minuter diſputes that have enflamed *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, ſhould have been at leaſt ſuſpended while they had a common enemy to deal with, againſt whom their whole force united was ſcarce able to ſtand. But theſe things were carried on rather with more eagerneſs and ſharpneſs than ever. It is true, there has appeared much of a primitive charity towards the *French* Refugees: They have been in all places well received, kindly treated, and bountifully ſupplied. Yet even among them there did not appear a ſpirit of piety and devotion ſuitable to their condition: Tho' perſons who have willingly ſuffered the loſs of all things, and have forſaken their country, their houſes, eſtates, and their friends, and ſome of them their neareſt relations, rather than ſin againſt their conſciences, muſt be believed to have a deeper principle in them, than can well be obſerved by others.

I was indeed amazed at the labours and learning

learning of the Miniſters among the Reformed. They underſtood the Scriptures well in the original tongues: They had all the points of controverſy very ready, and did thoroughly underſtand the whole body of divinity. In many places they preached every day, and were almoſt conſtantly employed in viſiting their flock. But they performed their devotions but ſlightly, and read their prayers, which were too long, with great precipitation and little zeal. Their ſermons were too long and too dry. And they were ſo ſtrict, even to jealouſy, in the ſmalleſt points in which they put orthodoxy, that one who could not go into all their notions, but was reſolved not to quarrel with them, could not converſe much with them with any freedom. I have, upon all the obſervation that I have made, often conſidered the inward ſtate of the Reformation, the decay of the vitals of Chriſtianity in it, as that which gives more melancholy impreſſions, than all the outward dangers that ſurround it. 1686.

IN *England* things were much changed, with relation to the Court, in the compaſs of a year. The terror all people were under from an ill choſen and an ill conſtituted Parliament, was now almoſt over: And the Clergy were come to their wits, and were beginning to recover their reputation. The Nation was like to prove much firmer than could have been expected, eſpecially in ſo ſhort a time. Yet after all, tho' many were like to prove themſelves better Proteſtants than was looked for, they were not become

1686. much better Christians: And few were turning to a stricter course of life: Nor were the Clergy more diligent in their labours among their people, in which respect it must be confessed that the *English* Clergy are the most remiss of any. The Curates in Popery, besides their saying Mass every day, their exactness to their breviary, their attending on confessions and the multiplicity of offices to which they are obliged, do so labour in instructing the youth and visiting the sick, that, in all the places in which I could observe them, it seemed to be the constant employment of their lives: And in the foreign Churches, tho' the labours of the Ministers may seem mean, yet they are perpetually in them. All these things lay so much on my thoughts, that I was resolved to retire into some private place, and to spend the rest of my life in a course of stricter piety and devotion, and in writing such books, as the state of matters with relation to religion should call for, whether in points of speculation or practice. All my friends advised my coming near *England*, that I might be easier sent to, and informed of all our affairs, and might accordingly employ my thoughts and time. So I came down the *Rhine* this summer; and was resolved to have settled in *Groningen* or *Frizeland*.

I was invited by the Prince of *Orange* to come

WHEN I came to *Utrecht*, I found letters writ to me by some of the Prince of *Orange*'s Court, desiring me to come first to the *Hague*, and wait on the Prince and Princess, before I should settle any where. Upon my

my coming to the *Hague*, I was admitted to wait on them. I found they had received such characters of me from *England*, that they resolved to treat me with great confidence: For, at my first being with them, they entred into much free discourse with me concerning the affairs of *England*. The Prince, tho' naturally cold and reserved, yet laid aside a great deal of that with me. He seemed highly dissatisfied with the King's conduct. He apprehended that he would give such jealousies of himself, and come under such jealousies from his people, that these would throw him into a *French* management, and engage him into such desperate designs as would force violent remedies. There was a gravity in his whole deportment that struck me. He seemed very regardless of himself, and not apt to suspect designs upon his person. But I had learned somewhat of the design of a brutal *Savoyard*, who was capable of the blackest things, and who for a foul murder had fled into the territory of *Geneva*, where he lay hid in a very worthy family, to whom he had done some services before. He had formed a scheme of seizing on the Prince, who used to go in his chariot often on the sands near *Schevling* with but one person with him, and a Page or two on the chariot. So he offered to go in a small vessel of twenty guns, that should lie at some distance at sea, and to land in a boat with seven persons besides himself, and to seize on the Prince, and bring him aboard, and so

1686. to the *Hague*.

1686. to *France*. This he wrote to Mr. *de Louvoy*, who upon that wrote to him to come to *Paris*, and ordered money for his journey. He, being a talking man, ſpoke of this, and ſhewed Mr. *de Louvoy*'s letter, and the copy of his own: And he went preſently to *Paris*. This was brought me by Mr. *Fatio*, the celebrated Mathematician, in whoſe father's houſe that perſon had lodged. When I told the Prince this, and had Mr. *Fatio* at the *Hague* to atteſt it, he was not much moved at it. The Princeſs was more apprehenſive. And by her direction I acquainted Mr. *Fagel*, and ſome others of the States, with it, who were convinced that the thing was practicable. And ſo the States deſired the Prince to ſuffer himſelf to be conſtantly attended on by a guard when he went abroad, with which he was not without ſome difficulty brought to comply. I fancied his belief of predeſtination made him more adventurous than was neceſſary. But he ſaid as to that, he firmly believed a providence: For if he ſhould let that go, all his religion would be much ſhaken: And he did not ſee, how providence could be certain, if all things did not ariſe out of the abſolute will of God. I found thoſe who had the charge of his education had taken more care to poſſeſs him with the Calviniſtical notions of abſolute decrees, than to guard him againſt the ill effects of thoſe opinions in practice: For in *Holland* the main thing the Miniſters infuſe into their people is an abhorrence of the *Arminian* doctrine, which ſpreads ſo much there, that

that their jealouſies of it make them look after that, more than after the moſt important matters. 1686.

THE Prince had been much neglected in his education: For all his life long he hated conſtraint. He ſpoke little. He put on ſome appearance of application: But he hated buſineſs of all ſorts. Yet he hated talking, and all houſe games more. This put him on a perpetual courſe of hunting, to which he ſeemed to give himſelf up, beyond any man I ever knew: But I looked on that always, as a flying from company and buſineſs. The depreſſion of *France* was the governing paſſion of his whole life. He had no vice, but of one ſort, in which he was very cautious and ſecret. He had a way that was affable and obliging to the *Dutch*. But he could not bring himſelf to comply enough with the temper of the *Engliſh*, his coldneſs and ſlowneſs being very contrary to the genius of the Nation. A character of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*.

THE Princeſs poſſeſſed all that converſed with her with admiration. Her perſon was majeſtick and created reſpect. She had great knowledge, with a true underſtanding, and a noble expreſſion. There was a ſweetneſs in her deportment that charmed, and an exactneſs in her piety and vertue that made her a pattern to all that ſaw her. The King gave her no appointments to ſupport the dignity of a King's daughter. Nor did he ſend her any preſents or jewels, which was thought a very indecent, and certainly was a very ill adviſed thing For the ſettling an allowance for her and the Prince, would have given ſuch a

1686. jealousy of them, that the *English* would have apprehended a secret correspondence and confidence between them: And the not doing it shewed the contrary very evidently. But, tho' the Prince did not increase her Court and State upon this additional dignity, she managed her Privy Purse so well, that she became eminent in her charities: And the good grace with which she bestowed favours did always encrease their value. She had read much, both in history and divinity. And when a course of humours in her eyes forced her from that, she set her self to work with such a constant diligence, that she made the Ladies about her ashamed to be idle. She knew little of our affairs, till I was admitted to wait on her. And I began to lay before her the state of our Court, and the intrigues in it, ever since the Restoration; which she received with great satisfaction, and shewed true judgment, and a good mind, in all the reflections that she made. I will only mention one in this place: she asked me, what had sharpened the King so much against Mr. *Jurieu*, the copiousest and the most zealous writer of the age, who wrote with great vivacity as well as learning. I told her, he mixed all his books with a most virulent acrimony of stile; and among other things he had writ with great indecency of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, which cast reflections on them that were descended from her; and was not very decent in one that desired to be considered as zealous for the Prince and herself. She said, *Jurieu* was to support the cause that he de-

defended, and to expose those that persecuted it, in the best way he could. And, if what he said of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was true, he was not to be blamed, who made that use of it: And, she added, that if Princes would do ill things, they must expect that the world will be revenged on their memory, since they cannot reach their persons: That was but a small suffering, far short of what others suffered at their hands. So far I have given the character of those persons, as it appeared to me upon my first admittance to them. I shall have occasion to say much more of them in the sequel of this work. 1686.

I was much trusted by them.

I found the Prince was resolved to make use of me. He told me, it would not be convenient for me to live any where but at the *Hague*: For none of the outlawed persons came thither. So I would keep my self by staying there out of the danger that I might legally incur by conversing with them, which would be unavoidable if I lived any where else. He also recommended me both to *Fagel*, *Dykvelt*, and *Halewyn*'s confidence, with whom he chiefly consulted. I had a mind to see a little into the Prince's notions, before I should engage my self deeper into his service. I was afraid lest his struggle with the *Louvestein* party, as they were called, might have given him a jealousy of liberty and of a free government. He assured me, it was quite the contrary. Nothing but such a constitution could resist a powerful aggressor long, or have the credit that was necessary to raise such sums, as a great war might require.

He

1686. He condemned all the late proceedings in *England* with relation to the Charters, and expreſſed his ſenſe of a legal and limited authority very fully. I told him, I was ſuch a friend to liberty, that I could not be ſatisfied with the point of religion alone, unleſs it was accompanied with the ſecurities of law. I asked his ſenſe of the Church of *England*. He ſaid, he liked our worſhip well, and our government in the Church, as much better than parity: But he blamed our condemning the foreign Churches, as he had obſerved ſome of our Divines did. I told him, whatever ſome hotter men might ſay, all were not of that mind. When he found I was in my opinion for toleration, he ſaid, that was all he would ever deſire to bring us to, for quieting our contentions at home. He alſo promiſed to me, that he ſhould never be prevailed with to ſet up the Calviniſtical notions of the decrees of God, to which I did imagine ſome might drive him. He wiſhed, ſome of our ceremonies, ſuch as the Surplice, and the Croſs in Baptiſm, with our bowing to the Altar, might be laid aſide. I thought it neceſſary to enter with him into all theſe particulars, that ſo I might be furniſhed from his own mouth to give a full account of his ſenſe to ſome in *England*, who would expect it of me, and were diſpoſed to believe what I ſhould aſſure them of. This diſcourſe was of ſome hours continuance: And it paſt in the Princeſs's preſence. Great notice came to be taken of the free acceſs and long conferences I had with them both

The Prince's ſenſe of our affairs.

both. I told him, it was neceſſary for his ſervice to put the fleet of *Holland* in a good condition. And this he propoſed ſoon after to the States, who gave the hundredth penny for a fund to perfect that. I moved to them both, the writing to the Biſhop of *London*, and to the King concerning him. And, tho' the Princeſs feared it might irritate the King too much, in concluſion I perſuaded them to it. 1686.

THE King, hearing of this admiſſion I had, began in two or three letters to reflect on me, as a dangerous man, whom they ought to avoid and beware of. To this no anſwer was made. Upon the ſetting up the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, ſome from *England* preſſed them to write over againſt it, and to begin a breach upon that. I told them, I thought that was no way adviſable: They could not be ſuppoſed to underſtand our laws ſo well, as to oppoſe thoſe things on their own knowledge: So that, I thought, this could not be expected of them, till ſome reſolute perſon ſhould diſpute the authority of the Court, and bring it to an argument, and ſo to a ſolemn deciſion. I likewiſe ſaid, that I did not think every error in government would warrant a breach: If the foundations were ſtruck at, that would vary the caſe: But illegal acts in particular inſtances could not juſtify ſuch a concluſion. The Prince ſeemed ſurprized at this: For the King made me paſs for a rebel in my heart. And he now ſaw, how far I was from it. I continued on this ground to the laſt.

THAT

1686. THAT which fixed me in their confidence was, the liberty I took in a private converſation with the Princeſs, to ask her, what ſhe intended the Prince ſhould be, if ſhe came to the Crown. She, who was new to all matters of that kind, did not underſtand my meaning, but fancied that whatever accrued to her would likewiſe accrue to him in the right of marriage. I told her, it was not ſo: And I explained King *Henry* the ſeventh's title to her; and what had paſt when Queen *Mary* married *Philip* of *Spain*. I told her, a titular Kingſhip was no acceptable thing to a man, eſpecially if it was to depend on another's life: And ſuch a nominal dignity might endanger the real one that the Prince had in *Holland*. She deſired me to propoſe a remedy. I told her, the remedy, if ſhe could bring her mind to it, was to be contented to be his wife, and to engage herſelf to him, that ſhe would give him the real authority as ſoon as it came into her hands, and endeavour effectually to get it to be legally veſted in him during life: This would lay the greateſt obligation on him poſſible, and lay the foundation of a perfect union between them, which had been of late a little embroiled. This would alſo give him another ſenſe of all our affairs. I asked pardon for the preſumption of moving her in ſuch a tender point: But I ſolemny proteſted, that no perſon living had moved me in it, or ſo much as knew of it, or ſhould ever know of it, but as ſhe ſhould order it. I hoped, ſhe would conſider well of it: For, if

The Princeſs's reſolution with reſpect to the Prince.

if she once declared her mind, I hoped she would never go back or retract it. I desired her therefore to take time to think of it. She presently answered me, she would take no time to consider of any thing by which she could express her regard and affection to the Prince; and ordered me to give him an account of all that I had laid before her, and to bring him to her, and I should hear what she would say upon it. He was that day a hunting: And next day I acquainted him with all that had past, and carried him to her; where she in a very frank manner told him, that she did not know that the laws of *England* were so contrary to the laws of God, as I had informed her: She did not think that the husband was ever to be obedient to the wife: She promised him, he should always bear rule: And she asked only, that he would obey the command of *husbands love your wives*, as she should do that, *wives be obedient to your husbands in all things*. From this lively introduction we engaged into a long discourse of the affairs of *England*. Both seemed well pleased with me, and with all that I had suggested. But such was the Prince's cold way, that he said not one word to me upon it, that looked like acknowledgment. Yet he spoke of it to some about him in another strain. He said, he had been nine years married, and had never the confidence to press this matter on the Queen, which I had now brought about easily in a day. Ever after that he seemed to trust me entirely. 1686.

COM-

1686. COMPLAINTS came daily over from *England* of all the high things that the Priests were every where throwing out. *Pen* the Quaker came over to *Holland*. He was a talking vain man, who had been long in the King's favour, he being the Vice-Admiral's son. He had such an opinion of his own faculty of persuading, that he thought none could stand before it: Tho' he was singular in that opinion: For he had a tedious luscious way, that was not apt to overcome a man's reason, tho' it might tire his patience. He undertook to persuade the Prince to come into the King's measures, and had two or three long audiences of him upon the subject: And he and I spent some hours together on it. The Prince readily consented to a toleration of Popery, as well as of the Dissenters, provided it were proposed and passed in Parliament: And he promised his assistance, if there was need of it, to get it to pass. But for the Tests he would enter into no treaty about them. He said, it was a plain betraying the security of the Protestant Religion, to give them up. Nothing was left unsaid, that might move him to agree to this in the way of interest: The King would enter into an entire confidence with him, and would put his best friends in the chief trusts. *Pen* undertook for this so positively, that he seemed to believe it himself, or he was a great proficient in the art of dissimulation. Many suspected that he was a concealed Papist It is certain, he was much with Father *Petre*, and

Pen sent over to treat with the Prince.

and was particularly truſted by the Earl of *Sunderland*. So, tho' he did not pretend any commiſſion for what he promiſed, yet we looked on him as a man employed. To all this the Prince anſwered, that no man was more for toleration in principle, than he was: He thought the conſcience was only ſubject to God: And as far as a general toleration, even of Papiſts, would content the King, he would concur in it heartily. But he looked on the Teſts as ſuch a real ſecurity, and indeed the only one, when the King was of another Religion, that he would join in no counſels with thoſe that intended to repeal thoſe laws that enacted them. *Pen* ſaid, the King would have all or nothing: But that, if this was once done, the King would ſecure the toleration by a ſolemn and unalterable law. To this the late repeal of the edict of *Nantes*, that was declared perpetual and irrevocable, furniſhed an anſwer that admitted of no reply. So *Pen*'s negotiation with the Prince had noeffect. 1686.

HE preſſed me to go over to *England*, ſince I was in principle for toleration: And he aſſured me the King would prefer me highly. I told him, ſince the Teſts muſt go with this toleration, I could never be for it. Among other diſcourſes he told me one thing, that was not accompliſhed in the way in which he had a mind I ſhould believe it would be, but had a more ſurpriſing accompliſhment. He told me a long ſeries of predictions, which, as he ſaid, he had from a man that pretended a commerce with Angels, who had foretold many things that were paſt very

1686. punctually. But he added, that in the year 1688 there would such a change happen in the face of affairs as would amaze all the world. And after the Revolution, which happen'd that year, I asked him before much company, if that was the event that was predicted. He was uneasy at the question; but did not deny what he had told me, which, he said, he understood of the full settlement of the Nation upon a toleration, by which he believed all men's minds would be perfectly quieted and united.

Some Bishops died in England.

NOW I go from this to prosecute the recital of *English* affairs. Two eminent Bishops died this year, *Pearson* Bishop of *Chester*, and *Fell* Bishop of *Oxford*. The first of these was in all respects the greatest Divine of the age: A man of great learning, strong reason, and of a clear judgment. He was a judicious and grave Preacher, more instructive than affective, & a man of a spotless life, and of an excellent temper. His book on the Creed is among the best that our Church has produced. He was not active in his Diocese, but too remiss and easy in his Episcopal function; and was a much better Divine than a Bishop. He was a speaking instance of what a great man could fall to: For his memory went from him so entirely, that he became a child some years before he died.

Pearson's Character.

Fell's Character.

FELL, Bishop of *Oxford*, was a man of great strictness in the course of his life, and of much devotion. His learning appears in that noble edition of St. *Cyprian* that he published. He had made great beginnings in learning before

fore the Reſtoration: But his continued application to his employments after that ſtopt the progreſs that otherwiſe he might have made. He was made ſoon after Dean of *Chriſts-Church*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Oxford*. He ſet himſelf to promote learning in the Univerſity, but moſt particulary in his own College, which he governed with great care: And was indeed in all reſpects a moſt exemplary man, tho' a little too much heated in the matter of our diſputes with the Diſſenters. But, as he was among the firſt of our Clergy that apprehended the deſign of bringing in Popery, ſo he was one of the moſt zealous againſt it. He had much zeal for reforming abuſes; and managed it perhaps with too much heat, and in too peremptory a way. But we have ſo little of that among us, that no wonder if ſuch men are cenſured by thoſe who love not ſuch patterns, nor ſuch ſevere task-maſters. 1686.

WARD of *Salisbury* fell alſo under a loſs of memory and underſtanding: So that he who was both in Mathematicks and Philoſophy, and in the ſtrength of judgment and underſtanding, one of the firſt men of his time, tho' he came too late into our profeſſion to become very eminent in it, was now a great inſtance of the deſpicable weakneſs to which a man can fall. The Court intended once to have named a Coadjutor for him. But there being no precedent for that ſince the Reformation, they reſolved to ſtay till he ſhould die. *Ward's dotage.*

THE other two Biſhopricks were leſs conſiderable: So they reſolved to fill them with *Cartwright*

1686. and *Parker* promoted.

the two worſt men that could be found out. *Cartwright* was promoted to *Cheſter*. He was a man of good capacity, and had made ſome progreſs in learning. He was ambitious and ſervile, cruel and boiſterous: And, by the great liberties he allowed himſelf, he fell under much ſcandal of the worſt ſort. He had ſet himſelf long to raiſe the King's authority above law; which, he ſaid, was only a method of government to which Kings might ſubmit as they pleaſed; but their authority was from God, abſolute and ſuperior to law, which they might exert, as oft as they found it neceſſary for the ends of government. So he was looked on as a man that would more effectually advance the deſign of Popery, than if he ſhould turn over to it. And indeed, bad as he was, he never made that ſtep, even in the moſt deſperate ſtate of his affairs.

Parker's Character.

THE See of *Oxford* was given to Dr. *Parker*, who was a violent Independent at the time of the Reſtoration, with a high profeſſion of piety in that way. But he ſoon changed, and ſtruck into the higheſt form of the Church of *England*; and wrote many books with a ſtrain of contempt and fury againſt all the Diſſenters, that provoked them out of meaſure; of which an account was given in the hiſtory of the former reign. He had exalted the King's authority in matters of religion in ſo indecent a manner, that he condemned the ordinary form of ſaying the King was under God and Chriſt, as a crude and profane expreſſion; ſaying, that tho' the King was indeed

deed under God, yet he was not under Christ, but above him. Yet, not being preferred as he expected, he writ after that many books on design to raise the authority of the Church to an independance on the Civil power. There was an entertaining liveliness in all his books: But it was neither grave nor correct. He was a covetous and ambitious man; and seemed to have no other sense of religion but as a political interest, and a subject of party and faction. He seldom came to prayers, or to any exercises of devotion; and was so lifted up with pride, that he was become insufferable to all that came near him. These two men were pitched on, as the fittest instruments that could be found among all the Clergy, to betray and ruin the Church. Some of the Bishops brought to Archbishop *Sancroft* articles against them, which they desired he would offer to the King in Council, and pray that the Mandate for consecrating them might be delayed, till time were given to examine particulars. And Bishop *Lloyd* told me, that *Sancroft* promised to him not to consecrate them, till he had examined the truth of the articles; of which some were too scandalous to be repeated. Yet when *Sancroft* saw what danger he might incur, if he were sued in a *Premunire*, he consented to consecrate them. 1686.

THE Deanry of *Christs-Church*, the most important post in the University, was given to *Massey*, one of the new converts, tho' he had neither the gravity, the learning, nor the age that was suitable to such a dignity.

1686. But all was ſupplied by his early converſion: And it was ſet up for a maxim, to encourage all converts. He at firſt went to prayers in the Chapel. But ſoon after he declared himſelf more openly. Not long after this the Preſident of *Magdalen* College died. That is eſteemed the richeſt foundation in *England*, perhaps in *Europe*: For, tho' their certain rents are but about 4 or 5000 *l.* yet it is thought that the improved value of the eſtate belonging to it is about 40000 *l.* So it was no wonder that the Prieſts ſtudied to get this endowment into their hands.

THEY had endeavoured to break in upon the Univerſity of *Cambridge* in a matter of leſs importance, but without ſucceſs: And now they reſolved to attack *Oxford*, by a ſtrange fatality in their counſels. In all Nations the privileges of Colleges and Univerſities are eſteemed ſuch ſacred things, that few will venture to diſpute theſe, much leſs to diſturb them, when their title is good, and their poſſeſſion is of a long continuance: For in theſe, not only the preſent body eſpouſes the matter; but all who have been of it, even thoſe that have only followed their ſtudys in it, think themſelves bound in honour and gratitude to aſſiſt and ſupport them. The Prieſts began where they ought to have ended, when all other things were brought about to their mind. The Jeſuits fancied, that, if they could get footing in the Univerſity, they would gain ſuch a reputation by their methods of teaching youth, that they would carry them away from the Univerſity tutors,

tutors, who were certainly too remiſs. Some of the more moderate among them propoſed, that the King ſhould endow a new College in both Univerſities, which needed not have coſt above two thouſand pound a year, and in theſe ſet his Prieſts to work. But either the King ſtuck at the charge which this would put him to, or his Prieſts thought it too mean and below his dignity not to lay his hand upon thoſe great bodies: So rougher methods were reſolved on. It was reckoned, that by frightning them they might be driven to compound the matter, and deliver up one or two Colleges to them: And then, as the King ſaid ſometimes in the circle, they who taught beſt would be moſt followed. 1686.

THEY began with *Cambridge* upon a ſofter point, which yet would have made way for all the reſt. The King ſent his letter, or *Mandamus*, to order *F. Francis*, an ignorant Benedictine Monk, to be received a Maſter of Arts; once to open the way for letting them into the degrees of the Univerſity. The truth is, the King's letters were ſcarce ever refuſed in conferring degrees: And when Embaſſadors or foreign Princes came to thoſe places, they uſually gave ſuch degrees to thoſe who belonged to them as were deſired. The *Morocco* Embaſſador's Secretary, that was a Mahometan, had that degree given him; but a great diſtinction was made between honorary degrees given to ſtrangers, who intended not to live among them, and thoſe given to ſuch as intended to ſettle among

The King's letter refuſed in *Cambridge*.

1686. among them: For every Maſter of Arts having a vote in the Convocation, they reckoned, that, if they gave this degree, they muſt give all that ſhould be pretended to on the like authority: And they knew, all the King's Prieſts would be let in upon them, which might occaſion at preſent great diſtraction and contentions among them; and in time they might grow to be a majority in the Convocation, which is their Parliament. They refuſed the *Mandamus* with great unanimity, and with a firmneſs that the Court had not expected from them. New and repeated orders, full of ſevere threatnings in caſe of diſobedience, were ſent to them; and this piece of raillery was every where ſet up, that a Papiſt was reckoned worſe than a Mahometan, and that the King's letters were leſs conſidered than the Embaſſador from *Morocco* had been. Some feeble or falſe men of the Univerſity tried to compound the matter, by granting this degree to *F. Francis*, but enacting at the ſame time, that it ſhould not be a precedent for the future for any other of the like nature. This was not given way to: For it was ſaid, that in all ſuch caſes the obedience that was once paid would be a much ſtronger argument for continuing to do it, as oft as it ſhould be deſired, than any ſuch proviſo could be againſt it.

The Vice-Chancellor turned out by

UPON this the Vice-Chancellor was ſummoned before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to anſwer this contempt. He was a very honeſt, but a very weak man. He made a poor

poor defence. And it was no ſmall reflection on that great body, that their chief Magiſtrate was ſo little able to aſſert their priviledges, or to juſtify their proceedings. He was treated with great contempt by *Jefferies*. But he having acted only as the chief perſon of that body, all that was thought fit to be done againſt him was, to turn him out of his office. That was but an annual office, and of no profit: So this was a ſlight cenſure, chiefly when it was all that followed on ſuch heavy threatnings. The Univerſity choſe another Vice-Chancellor, who was a man of much ſpirit: And in his ſpeech, which in courſe he made upon his being choſen, he promiſed, that, during his magiſtracy, neither Religion, nor the rights of the body, ſhould ſuffer by his means. The Court did not think fit to inſiſt more upon this matter; which was too plain a confeſſion, either of their weakneſs in beginning ſuch an ill grounded attempt, or of their feebleneſs in letting it fall, doing ſo little, after they had talked ſo much about it. And now all people began to ſee, that they had taken wrong meaſures of the King, when they thought that it would be eaſy to engage him into bold things, before he could ſee into the ill conſequences that might attend them; but that being once engaged he would reſolve to go through with them at all adventures. When I knew him, he ſeemed to have ſet up that for a maxim, that a King when he made a ſtep was never to go back, nor to encourage faction and diſobedience by yielding to it.

1686. the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners.

1686. AFTER this unſucceſsful attempt upon *Cambridge*, another was made upon *Oxford*, that laſted longer and had greater effects, which I ſhall ſet down all together, tho' the concluſion of this affair ran far into the year after this that I now write of. The Preſidentſhip of *Magdalen*'s was given by the election of the Fellows. So the King ſent a *Mandamus* requiring them to chooſe one *Farmer*, an ignorant and vitious perſon, who had not one qualification that could recommend him to ſo high a poſt beſides that of changing his religion. *Mandamus* letters had no legal authority in them: But all the great preferments of the Church being in the King's diſpoſal, thoſe who did pretend to favour, were not apt to refuſe his recommendation, leſt that ſhould be afterwards remembred to their prejudice. But now, ſince it was viſible in what channel favour was like to run, leſs regard was had to ſuch a letter. The Fellows of that houſe did upon this chooſe Dr. *Hough*, one of their body; who as he was in all reſpects a ſtatutable man, ſo he was a worthy and a firm man, not apt to be threatned out of his right. They carried their election according to their ſtatutes to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, their Viſitor: And he confirmed it. So that matter was legally ſettled. This was highly reſented at Court. It was ſaid, that, in caſe of a *Mandamus* for an undeſerving man, they ought to have repreſented the matter to the King, and ſtaid till they had his pleaſure. It was one of the chief ſervices that the Univerſities expected from their

An attempt to impoſe a Popiſh Preſident on *Magdalen* College.

their Chancellors, which made them always chooſe men of great credit at Court, that by their intereſt ſuch letters might be either prevented or recalled. The Duke of *Ormond* was now their Chancellor: But he had little credit in the Court; and was declining in his age, which made him retire into the country. It was much obſerved, that this Univerſity, that had aſſerted the King's prerogative in the higheſt ſtrains of the moſt abject flattery poſſible, both in their addreſſes, and in a wild decree they had made but three years before this, in which they had laid together a ſet of ſuch high flown maxims as muſt eſtabliſh an uncontrolable tyranny, ſhould be the firſt body of the Nation that ſhould feel the effects of it moſt ſenſibly. The cauſe was brought before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. The Fellows were firſt asked, why they had not choſen *Farmer* in obedience to the King's letter? And to that they anſwered, by offering a liſt of many juſt exceptions againſt him. The ſubject was fruitful, and the ſcandals he had given were very publick. The Court was aſhamed of him, and inſiſted no more on him: But they ſaid, that the Houſe ought to have ſhewed more reſpect to the King's letter, than to have proceeded to an election in contempt of it. 1686.

THE Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion took upon them to declare *Hough*'s election null, and to put the Houſe under ſuſpenſion. And, that the deſign of the Court in this matter might be carried on without the load of recommending a Papiſt, *Parker*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, They diſobey, and are cenſured for it.

1686. *Oxford*, was now recommended: And the Fellows were commanded to proceed to a new election in his favour. They excuſed themſelves, ſince they were bound by their oaths to maintain their ſtatutes: And by theſe, an election being once made and confirmed, they could not proceed to a new choice, till the former was annulled in ſome Court of law: Church benefices and College preferments were freeholds, and could only be judged in a Court of Record: And, ſince the King was now talking ſo much of liberty of conſcience, it was ſaid, that the forcing men to act againſt their oaths, ſeemed not to agree with thoſe profeſſions. In oppoſition to this it was ſaid, that the ſtatutes of Colleges had been always conſidered, as things that depended entirely on the King's good pleaſure; ſo that no oaths to obſerve them could bind them, when it was in oppoſition to the King's command.

1687. THIS did not ſatisfy the Fellows: And, tho' the King, as he went thro' *Oxford* in his progreſs in the year 1687, ſent for them, and ordered them to go preſently and chooſe *Parker* for their Preſident, in a ſtrain of language ill ſuited to the Majeſty of a crowned head, (for he treated them with foul language pronounced in a very angry tone;) yet it had no effect on them. They inſiſted ſtill on their oaths, tho' with a humility and ſubmiſſion, that they hoped would have mollified him. They continued thus firm. A ſubaltern Commiſſion was ſent from

from the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to finiſh the matter. Biſhop *Cartwright* was the head of this Commiſſion, as Sir *Charles Hedges* was the King's Advocate to manage the matter. *Cartwright* acted in ſo rough a manner, that it ſhewed, he was reſolved to ſacrifice all things to the King's pleaſure. It was an afflicting thing, which ſeemed to have a peculiar character of indignity in it, that this firſt act of violence committed againſt the legal poſſeſſions of the Church, was executed by one Biſhop, and done in favour of another. 1687.

THE new Preſident was turned out. And, becauſe he would not deliver the keys of his Houſe, the doors were broken open: And *Parker* was put in poſſeſſion. The Fellows were required to make their ſubmiſſion, to ask pardon for what was paſt, and to accept of the Biſhop for their Preſident. They ſtill pleaded their oath: And were all turned out, except two that ſubmitted. So that it was expected, to ſee that Houſe ſoon ſtockt with Papiſts. The Nation, as well as the Univerſity, looked on all this proceeding with a juſt indignation. It was thought an open piece of robbery and burglary, when men, authorized by no legal commiſſion, came and forcibly turned men out of their poſſeſſion and freehold. This agreed ill with the profeſſions that the King was ſtill making, that he would maintain the Church of *England* as by law eſtabliſhed: For this ſtruck at the whole eſtate, and all the temporalties of the Church. It did ſo inflame the Church party and

And were all turned out.

1687. and the Clergy, that they ſent over very preſſing meſſages upon it to the Prince of *Orange*, deſiring that he would interpoſe, and eſpouſe the concerns of the Church; and that he would break upon it, if the King would not redreſs it. This I did not ſee in their letters. Thoſe were of ſuch importance, ſince the writing them might have been carried to high treaſon, that the Prince did not think fit to ſhew them. But he often ſaid, he was preſſed by many of thoſe, who were afterwards his bittereſt enemies, to engage in their quarrel. When that was communicated to me, I was ſtill of opinion, that, tho' this was indeed an act of deſpotical and arbitrary power, yet I did not think it ſtruck at the whole: So that it was not in my opinion a lawful caſe of reſiſtance: And I could not concur in a quarrel occaſioned by ſuch a ſingle act, tho' the precedent ſet by it might go to every thing.

NOW the King broke with the Church of *England*. And, as he was apt to go warmly upon every provocation, he gave himſelf ſuch liberties in diſcourſe upon that ſubject, that it was plain, all the ſervices they had done him, both in oppoſing the Excluſion, and upon his firſt acceſſion to the Crown, were forgot. Agents were now found out, to go among the Diſſenters, to perſuade them to accept of the favour the King intended them, and to concur with him in his deſigns.

The Diſſenters much

THE Diſſenters were divided into four main bodies. The Presbyterians, the Independen-

pendents, the Anabaptiſts, and the Quakers. The two former had not the viſible diſtinction of different rites: And their depreſſed condition made, that the diſpute about the conſtitution and ſubordination of Churches, which had broken them when power was in their hands, was now out of doors: And they were looked on as one body, and were above three parts in four of all the Diſſenters. The main difference between theſe was, that the Presbyterians ſeemed reconcilable to the Church; for they loved Epiſcopal Ordination and a Liturgy, and upon ſome amendments ſeemed diſpoſed to come into the Church; and they liked the civil government, and limited Monarchy. But as the Independents were for a Commonwealth in the State, ſo they put all the power of the Church in the people, and thought that their choice was an ordination: Nor did they approve of ſet forms of worthip. Both were enemys to this high prerogative, that the King was aſſuming, and were very averſe to Popery. They generaly were of a mind, as to the accepting the King's favour; but were not inclined to take in the Papiſts into a full a toleration; much leſs could they be prevailed on to concur in taking off the Teſts. The Anabaptiſts were generally men of vertue, and of an univerſal charity: And as they were far from being in any treating terms with the Church of *England*, ſo nothing but an univerſal toleration could make them capable of favour or employments. The Quakers had ſet up ſuch a viſible diſtinction

1687. courted by the King.

1687. ction in the matter of the Hat, and saying Thou and Thee, that they had all as it were a badge fixed on them: So they were easily known. Among these *Penn* had the greatest credit, as he had a free access at Court. To all these it was proposed, that the King designed the settling the minds of the different parties in the Nation, and the enriching it, by enacting a perpetual law, that should be passed with such solemnites as had accompanied the *Magna Charta*; so that not only penal laws should be for ever repealed, but that publick employments should be opened to men of all persuasions, without any tests or oaths limiting them to one sort or party of men. There were many meetings among the leading men of the several sects.

Debates and resolutions among them.

IT was visible to all men, that the courting them at this time was not from any kindness or good opinion that the King had of them. They had left the Church of *England*, because of some forms in it, that they thought looked too like the Church of *Rome*. They needed not to be told, that all the favour expected from Popery was once to bring it in, under the colour of a general toleration, till it should be strong enough to set on a general persecution: And therefore, as they could not engage themselves to support such an arbitrary prerogative as was now made use of, so neither should they go into any engagements for Popery. Yet they resolved to let the points of controversy alone, and leave those to the management of the Clergy, who had a legal bottom

om to ſupport them. They did believe that this indignation againſt the Church party, and this kindneſs to them were things too unnatural to laſt long. So the more conſiderable among them reſolved not to ſtand at too great a diſtance from the Court, nor to provoke the King ſo far, as to give him cauſe to think they were irreconcilable to him, leſt they ſhould provoke him to make up matters on any terms with the Church party. On the other hand, they reſolved not to provoke the Church party, or by any ill behaviour of theirs drive them into a reconciliation with the Court. It is true, *Penn* ſhewed both a ſcorn of the Clergy, and virulent ſpite againſt them, in which he had not many followers. 1687.

THE King was ſo fond of his Army, that he ordered them to encamp on *Hounſlow-Heath*, and to be exerciſed all the ſummer long. This was done with great magnificence, and at a vaſt expence; but that which abated the King's joy in ſeeing ſo brave an Army about him was, that it appeared viſibly, and on many occaſions, that his ſoldiers had as great an averſion to his religion as his other ſubjects had expreſſed. The King had a Chapel in his camp where Maſs was ſaid: But ſo few went to it, and thoſe few were treated by the reſt with ſo much ſcorn, that it was not eaſy to bear it. It was very plain, that ſuch an Army was not to be truſted in any quarrel in which religion was concerned. *The Army encamped at Hounſlow-Heath.*

The few Papiſts that were in the Army were an unequal match to the reſt. The

1687. heats about religion were like to breed quarrels: And it was once very near a mutiny. It was thought, that thoſe encampments had a good effect on the Army. They encouraged one another, and vowed they would ſtick together, and never forſake their religion. It was no ſmall comfort to them, to ſee they had ſo few Papiſts among them; which might have been better diſguiſed at a diſtance, than when they were all in view. A reſolution was formed upon this at Court to make recruits in *Ireland*, and to fill them up with *Iriſh* Papiſts; which ſucceeded as ill as all their other deſigns did, as ſhall be told in its proper place.

An Embaſſador ſent to *Rome*.

THE King had for above a year managed his correſpondence with *Rome* ſecretly. But now the Prieſts reſolved to drive the matter paſt reconciling. The correſpondence with that Court, while there was none at *Rome* with a publick character, could not be decently managed, but by Cardinal *Howard*'s means. He was no friend to the Jeſuits; nor did he like their over-driving matters. So they moved to the King to ſend an Embaſſador to *Rome*. This was high treaſon by law. *Jefferies* was very uneaſy in it. But the King's power of pardoning had been much argued in the Earl of *Danby*'s caſe, and was believed to be one of the unqueſtionable rights of the Crown. So he knew a ſafe way in committing crimes; which was, to take out pardons as ſoon as he had done illegal things.

THE King's choice of *Palmer*, Earl of *Caſtlemain*, was liable to great exception. For,

For, as he was believed to be a Jeſuit, ſo he was certainly as hot and eager in all high notions, as any of them could be. The *Romans* were amazed, when they heard that he was to be the perſon. His misfortunes were ſo eminent and publick, that they who take their meaſures much from aſtrology, and from the characters they think are fixed on men, thought it ſtrange to ſee ſuch a negotiation put in the hands of ſo unlucky a man. It was managed with great ſplendor, and at a vaſt charge. 1687.

He managed every thing unhappily.

HE was unhappy in every ſtep of it. He diſputed with a nice ſort of affectation every punctilio of the ceremonial. And, when the day ſet for his audience came, there happen'd to be ſuch an extraordinary thunder, and ſuch deluges of rain, as diſgraced the ſhew, and heightned the opinion of the ominouſneſs of this Embaſſy. After this was over, he had yet many diſputes with relation to the ceremony of viſits. The points he preſſed were, firſt the making *P. Renaldi* of *Eſte*, the Queen's uncle, a Cardinal; in which he prevailed: And it was the only point in which he ſucceeded. He tried, if it was poſſible, to get Father *Petre* to be made a Cardinal. But the Pope was known to be intractable in that point, having fixed it as a maxim not to raiſe any of that Order to the Purple. Count *Munſfield* told me, as he came from *Spain*, that our Court had preſſed the Court of *Spain* to join their intereſt with ours at *Rome* for his promotion. They gave it out, that he was a

1687. *German* by birth, and undertook that he ſhould ſerve the *Auſtrian* intereſt. They alſo promiſed the Court of *Madrid* great aſſiſtance in other matters of the laſt importance, if they would procure this: Adding, that this would prove the moſt effectual means for the converſion of *England*. Upon which the Count told me, he was asked concerning Father *Petre*. He, who had gone often to *Spain* thro' *England*, happen'd to know that Jeſuit; and told them, he was no *German*, but an *Engliſhman*. They tried their ſtrength at *Rome* for his promotion, but with no ſucceſs.

THE Embaſſador at *Rome* preſſed Cardinal *Cibo* much to put an end to the differences between the Pope and the King of *France*, in the matter of the franchiſes, that it might appear that the Pope had a due regard to a King that had extirpated hereſy, and to another King who was endeavouring to bring other Kingdoms into the ſheepfold. What muſt the world ſay, if two ſuch Kings, like whom no ages had produced any, ſhould be neglected and ill uſed at *Rome* for ſome punctilios? He addded, that, if theſe matters were ſettled, and if the Pope would enter into concert with them, they would ſet about the deſtroying hereſy every where, and would begin with the *Dutch*; upon whom, he ſaid, they would fall without any declaration of war, treating them as a company of rebels and pirates, who had not a right, as free States and Princes have, to a formal denunciation of war. *Cibo*, who was then Cardinal

nal Patron, was amazed at this, and gave notice of it to the Imperial Cardinals. They ſent it to the Emperor, and he ſignified it to the Prince of *Orange*. It is certain, that one Prince's treating with another to invade a third gives a right to that third Prince to defend himſelf, and to prevent thoſe deſigns. And, ſince what an Embaſſador ſays is underſtood as ſaid by the Prince whoſe character he bears, this gave the States a right to make uſe of all advantages that might offer themſelves. But they had yet better grounds to juſtify their proceedings, as will appear in the ſequel. 1687.

WHEN the Embaſſador ſaw that his remonſtrances to the Cardinal Patron were ineffectual, he demanded an audience of the Pope. And there he lamented, that ſo little regard was had to two ſuch great Kings. He reflected on the Pope, as ſhewing more zeal about temporal concerns than the ſpiritual; which, he ſaid, gave ſcandal to all Chriſtendom. He concluded, that, ſince he ſaw interceſſions made in his maſter's name were ſo little conſidered, he would make haſte home: To which the Pope made no anſwer, but, *lei è padrone*, he might do as he pleaſed. But he ſent one after the Embaſſador, as he withdrew from the audience, to let him know, how much he was offended with his diſcourſes, that he received no ſuch treatment from any perſon, and that the Embaſſador was to expect no other private audience. Cardinal *Howard* did what he could to ſoften matters. But the Embaſſador was ſo entirely

1687. tirely in the hands of the Jesuits, that he had little regard to any thing that the Cardinal suggested. And so he left *Rome* after a very expensful, but insignificant Embassy.

Pope *Innocent's* character.

THE Pope sent in return a Nuntio, *Dada*, now a Cardinal. He was highly civil in all his deportment. But it did not appear that he was a man of great depth, nor had he power to do much. The Pope was a jealous and fearful man, who had no knowledge of any sort, but in the matters of the revenue, and of money: For he was descended from a family, that was become rich by dealing in banks. And in that respect, it was a happiness to the Papacy that he was advanced: For it was so involved in vast debts by a succession of many wastful Pontificates, that his frugal management came in good time to set those matters in better order. It was known, that he did not so much as understand *Latin*. I was told at *Rome*, that when he was made Cardinal, he had a master to teach him to pronounce that little *Latin* that he had occasion for at high Masses. He understood nothing of Divinity. I remembred what a Jesuit at *Venice* had said to me, whom I met sometimes at the *French* Embassadors there, when we were talking of the Pope's infallibility: He said, that being in *Rome* during *Altieri*'s Pontificate, who lived some years in a perfect dotage, he confessed it required a very strong faith to believe him infallible: But he added pleasantly, the harder it was to believe it, the act of faith was the more meritorious. The sub-

ſubmitting to Pope *Innocent*'s infalibillity was a very implicit act of faith, when all appearances were ſo ſtrongly againſt it. The Pope hated the Jeſuits, and expreſſed a great eſteem for the *Janſeniſts*; not that he underſtood the ground of the difference, but becauſe they were enemies to the Jeſuits, and were ill looked on by the Court of *France*. He underſtood the buſineſs of the Regale a little better, it relating to the temporalties of the Church. And therefore he took all thoſe under his protection, who refuſed to ſubmit to it. Things ſeemed to go far towards a breach between the two Courts: Eſpecially after the articles, which were ſet out by the Aſſembly of the Clergy of France in 1682. in favour of the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſile*, in oppoſition to the Papal pretenſions. The King of *France*, who was not accuſtomed to be treated in ſuch a manner, ſent many threatning meſſages to *Rome*, which alarmed the Cardinals ſo much, that they tried to mollify the Pope. But it was reported at *Rome*, that he made a noble anſwer to them, when they asked him, what he could do, if ſo great a King ſhould ſend an Army to fall upon him? He ſaid, he could ſuffer Martyrdom. 1687.

Diſputes about the franchiſes.

HE was ſo little terrified with all thoſe threatnings, that he had ſet on foot a diſpute about the franchiſes. In *Rome* all thoſe of a Nation put themſelves under the protection of their Embaſſador, and are upon occaſions of ceremony his Cortege. Theſe were uſually lodged in his neighbourhood,

1687. pretending that they belonged to him. So that they exempted themſelves from the orders and juſtice of *Rome*, as a part of the Embaſſador's family. And that extent of houſes or ſtreets in which they lodged was called the franchiſes; for in it they pretended they were not ſubject to the government of *Rome*. This had made theſe houſes to be well filled, not only with thoſe of that Nation, but with ſuch *Romans* as deſired to be covered with that protection. *Rome* was now much ſunk from what had it been: So that theſe franchiſes were become ſo great a part of the City, that the privileges of thoſe that lived in them were giving every day new diſturbances to the courſe of juſtice, and were the common ſanctuaries of criminals. So the Pope reſolved to reduce the privileges of Embaſſadors to their own families, within their own palaces. He firſt dealt with the Emperor's, and the King of *Spain*'s Embaſſadors; And brought them to quit their pretenſions to the franchiſes; but with this proviſion, that, if the *French* did not the ſame, they would return to them. So now the Pope was upon forcing the *French* to ſubmit to the ſame methods. The Pope ſaid, his Nuntio or Legate at *Paris* had no privilege but for his family, and for thoſe that lived in his palace. The *French* rejected this with great ſcorn. They ſaid, the Pope was not to pretend to an equality with ſo great a King. He was the common Father of Chriſtendom: So thoſe who came thither, as to the center of unity, were not to be put on the level with the Embaſſa-

baſſadors that paſſed between Sovereign Princes. Upon this the King of *France* pretended, that he would maintain all the privileges and franchiſes that his Embaſſadors were poſſeſſed of. This was now growing up to be the matter of a new quarrel, and of freſh diſputes, between thoſe Courts. 1687.

The *Engliſh* Embaſſador being ſo entirely in the *French* intereſts, and in the confidence of the Jeſuits, he was much leſs conſidered at *Rome*, than he thought he ought to have been. The truth is, the *Romans*, as they have very little ſenſe of religion, ſo they conſidered the reduction of *England* as a thing impracticable. They ſaw no proſpect of any profits like to ariſe in any of their offices by bulls or compoſitions: And this was the notion that they had of the converſion of Nations, chiefly as it brought wealth and advantages to them.

Queen *Chriſtina's* character of ſome Popes.

I will conclude all that I ſhall ſay in this place of the affairs of *Rome* with a lively ſaying of Queen *Chriſtina* to my ſelf at *Rome*. She ſaid, it was certain that the Church was governed by the immediate care and providence of God: For none of the four Popes that ſhe had known ſince ſhe came to *Rome* had common ſenſe. She added, they were the firſt and the laſt of men. She had given her ſelf entirely for ſome years to the ſtudy of Aſtrology: And upon that ſhe told me, the King would live yet many years, but added that he would have no ſon.

I come, from the relation of this Embaſſade to *Rome*, to give an account of other

1687. negotiations. The King found *Skelton* managed his affairs in *Holland* with ſo little ſenſe, and gave ſuch an univerſal diſtaſte, that he reſolved to change him. But he had been ſoo ſervilely addicted to all his intereſts, that he would not diſcourage him. And, becauſe all his concerns with the Court of *France* were managed with *Barillon* the *French* Embaſſador at *London*, he was ſent to *Paris*.

D'Albeville ſent Envoy to Holland.

THE King found out one *White*, an *Iriſhman*, who had been long a Spy of the *Spaniards*. And when they did not pay his appointments well, he accepted of the title of Marquis *d'Albeville* from them in part of payment. And then he turned to the *French*, who paid their tools more punctually. But, tho' he had learned the little arts of corrupting Under-Secretaries, and had found out ſome ſecrets by that way, which made him paſs for a good Spy; yet, he when came to negotiate matters in a higher form, he proved a moſt contemptible and ridiculous man: who had not the common appearances either of decency or of truth.

I was upon the King's preſſing inſtances forbid to ſee the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.

HE had orders, before he entred upon buſineſs with the Prince or Princeſs, to ask of them, not only to forbid me the Court, but to promiſe to ſee me no more. The King had writ two violent letters againſt me to the Princeſs. She truſted me ſo far, that ſhe ſhewed them to me; and was pleaſed to anſwer them according to the hints that I ſuggeſted. But now it was put ſo home, that this was to be complied with, or a breach

was

was immediatly to follow upon it. So this was done. And they were both ſo true to their promiſe, that I ſaw neither the one nor the other till a few days before the Prince ſet ſail for *England*. The Prince ſent *Dykvelt* and *Halewyn* conſtantly to me, with all the advertiſements that came from *England*. So I had the whole ſecret of *Engliſh* affairs ſtill brought me. 1687.

THAT which was firſt reſolved on was, to ſend *Dykvelt* to *England* with directions how to talk with all ſorts of people: To the King, to thoſe of the Church, and to the Diſſenters. I was ordered to draw his inſtructions, which he followed very cloſely. He was ordered to expoſtulate decently, but firmly, with the King upon the methods he was purſuing, both at home and abroad; and to ſee if it was poſſible to bring him to a better underſtanding with the Prince. He was alſo to aſſure all the Church party, that the Prince would ever be firm to the Church of *England*, and to all our national intereſts. The Clergy, by the methods in which they correſponded with him, wich I ſuppoſe was chiefly by the Biſhop of *London*'s means, had deſired him to uſe all his credit with the Diſſenters, to keep them from going into the meaſures of the Court; and ſent over very poſitive aſſurances, that, in caſe they ſtood firm now to the common intereſt, they would in a better time come into a comprehenſion of ſuch as could be brought into a conjunction with the Church, and to a tolera- *Dykvelt* ſent to *England*.

1687. toleration of the reſt. They had alſo deſired him to ſend over ſome of the preachers, whom the violence of the former years had driven to *Holland*; and to prevail effectually with them to oppoſe any falſe brethren, whom the Court might gain to deceive the reſt: Which the Prince had done. And to many of them he gave ſuch preſents, as enabled them to pay their debts, and to undertake the journey. *Dykvelt* had orders to preſs them all to ſtand off; and not to be drawn in by any promiſes the Court might make them, to aſſiſt them in the elections of Parliament. He was alſo inſtructed to aſſure them of a full toleration; and likewiſe of a comprehenſion, if poſſible, whenſoever the Crown ſhould devolve on the Princeſs. He was to try all ſorts of people, and to remove the ill characters that had been given them of the Prince: For the Church party was made believe, he was a Presbyterian, & the Diſſenters were poſſeſſed with a conceit of his being arbitrary and imperious. Some had even the impudence to give out, that he was a Papiſt. But the ill terms in which the King and he lived put an end to thoſe reports at that time. Yet they were afterwards taken up, and managed with much malice to create a jealouſy of him. *Dykvelt* was not gone off, when *D'Albeville* came to the *Hague*. He did all he could to divert the journey: For he knew well *Dykvelt*'s way of penetrating into ſecrets, he himſelf having been often em-

employed by him, and well paid for ſeveral diſcoveries made by his means. 1687.

D'Albeville aſſured the Prince & the States, that the King was firmly reſolved to maintain his alliance with them: That his naval preparations were only to enable him to preſerve the peace of *Europe*: For he ſeemed much concerned to find, that the States had ſuch apprehenſions of theſe, that they were putting themſelves in a condition not to be ſurprized by them. In his ſecret negotiations with the Prince and Princeſs, he began with very poſitive aſſurances, that the King intended never to wrong them in their right of ſucceſſion: That all that the King was now engaged in was only, to aſſert the rights of the Crown, of which they would reap the advantage in their turn: The Teſt was a reſtraint on the King's liberty, and therefore he was reſolved to have it repealed; And he was alſo reſolved to lay aſide all penal laws in matters of religion: They ſaw too well the advantages that *Holland* had by the liberty of conſcience that was ſettled among them, to oppoſe him in this particular: The King could not abandon men, becauſe they were of his own religion, who had ſerved him well, and had ſuffered only on his account, and on the account of their conſcience. He told them, how much the King condemned the proceedings in *France*; and that he ſpoke of that King as a poor bigot, who was governed by the Archbiſhop of *Paris* and *Madame de Maintenon*, whereas he knew *Pere la Chaiſe* had

The negotiations between the King and the Prince.

1687. had oppoſed the perſecution as long as he could. But the King hated thoſe maxims: And therefore he received the Refugees very kindly, and had given orders for a collection of charity over the kingdom for their relief.

THIS was the ſubſtance, both of what *D'Albeville* ſaid to the Prince and Princeſs, and of what the King himſelf ſaid to *Dykvelt* upon thoſe ſubjects. At that time the King thought, he had made a majority of the Houſe of Commons ſure: And ſo he ſeemed reſolved to have a ſeſſion of Parliament in *April*. And of this *D'Albeville* gave the Prince poſitive aſſurances. But the King had reckoned wrong: For many of thoſe, who had been with him in his cloſet, were either ſilent, or had anſwered him in ſuch reſpectful words, that he took theſe for promiſes. But, when they were more ſtrictly examined, the King ſaw his error: And ſo the ſitting of the Parliament was put off.

TO all thoſe propoſitions the Prince and Princeſs, and *Dykvelt* in their name, anſwered, that they were fixed in a principle againſt perſecution in matters of conſcience: But they could not think it reaſonable to let Papiſts in to ſit in Parliament, or to ſerve in publick truſts: The reſtleſs ſpirit of ſome of that religion, and of their Clergy in particular, ſhewed they could not be at quiet till they were maſters: And the power they had over the King's ſpirit, in making him forget what he had promiſed upon his coming to the Crown, gave but too juſt a ground

ground of jealouſy. It appeared, that they could not bear any reſtraints, nor remember paſt ſervices longer than thoſe who did them could comply in every thing with that which was deſired of them. They thought, the prerogative as limited by law was great enough: And they deſired no ſuch exorbitant power as ſhould break tho' all laws. They feared, that ſuch an attack upon the conſtitution might rather drive the Nation into a Commonwealth. They thought the ſureſt, as well as the beſt way was, to govern according to law. The Church of *England* had given the King ſignal proofs of their affection and fidelity; and had complied with him in every thing, till he came to touch them in ſo tender a point, as the legal ſecurity they had for their religion: Their ſticking to that was very natural: And the King's taking that ill from them was liable to great cenſure. The King, if he pleaſed to improve the advantages he had in his hand, might be both eaſy and great at home, and the arbiter of all affairs abroad: But he was prevailed on by the importunities of ſome reſtleſs Prieſts, to embroil all his affairs to ſerve their ends. They could never conſent to aboliſh thoſe laws, which were the beſt, and now the only fence of that religion, which they themſelves believed true. This was the ſubſtance of their anſwers to all the preſſing meſſages that were often repeated by *D'Albeville*. And upon this occaſion the Princeſs ſpoke ſo often and with ſuch firmneſs to him, that he ſaid, ſhe was more intractable 1687.

1687. tractable on those matters than the Prince himself. *Dykvelt* told me, he argued often with the King on all these topicks: But he found him obstinately fixed in his resolution. He said, he was the head of the family, and the Prince ought to comply with him; but that he had always set himself against him. *Dykvelt* answered, that the Prince could not carry his compliance so far, as to give up his religion to his pleasure; but that in all other things he had shewed a very ready submission to his will. The peace of *Nimeguen*, of which the King was guarantee, was openly violated in the article relating to the principality of *Orange:* Yet, since the King did not think fit to espouse his interests in that matter, he had been silent, and had made no protestations upon it: So the King saw, that he was ready to be silent under so great an injury, and to sacrifice his own concerns, rather than disturb the King's affairs. To this the King made no answer. The Earl of *Sunderland*, and the rest of the Ministry, pressed *Dykvelt* mightily, to endeavour to bring the Prince to concur with the King. And they engaged to him, that, if that were once settled, the King would go into close measures with him against *France*. But he put an end to all those propositions. He said, the Prince could never be brought to hearken to them.

A letter writ by the Jesuits of *Liege*

AT this time a great discovery was made of the intentions of the Court by the Jesuits of *Liege*, who in a letter, that they wrote to their brethren in *Friburg* in *Switzerland*, gave

gave them a long account of the affairs of *England*. They told them, that the King was received into a communication of the merits of their Order: That he expreſſed great joy at his becoming a ſon of the Society; and profeſſed, he was as much concerned in all their intereſts, as in his own: He wiſhed, they could furniſh him with many Prieſts to aſſiſt him in the converſion of the Nation, which he was reſolved to bring about, or to die a Martyr in endeavouring it; and that he would rather ſuffer death for carrying on that, than live ever ſo long and happy without attempting it. He ſaid, he muſt make haſte in this work: Otherwiſe, if he ſhould die before he had compaſſed it, he would leave them worſe than he found them. They added, among many particularis, that, when one of them kneeled down to kiſs his hand, he took him up, and ſaid, ſince he was a Prieſt, he ought rather to kneel to him, and to kiſs his hand. And, when one of them was lamenting that his next heir was an Heretick, he ſaid, God would provide an heir. 1687. that diſcovers the King's deſigns.

THE Jeſuits at *Friburg* ſhewed this about. And one of the Miniſters, on whom they were taking ſome pains, and of whom they had ſome hopes, had got a ſight of it. And he obtained leave to take a copy of it, pretending that he would make good uſe of it. He ſent a copy of it to *Heidegger*, the famous Profeſſor of Divinity at *Zurich*: And from him I had it. Other copies of it were likewiſe ſent, both from *Geneva* and *Switzer-*

1687. *land.* One of those was sent to *Dykvelt*; who upon that told the King, that his Priests had other designs, and were full of those hopes, that gave jealousies which could not be easily removed: And he named the *Leige* letter, and gave the King a copy of it. He promised to him, he would read it; and he would soon see, whether it was an imposture made to make them more odious, or not. But he never spoke of it to him afterwards. This *Dykvelt* thought, was a confessing that the letter was no forgery. Thus *Dykvelt*'s negotiation at *London*, and *D'Albeville*'s at the *Hague*, ended without any effect on either side.

Dykvelt's conduct in England.

BUT, if his treating with the King was without success, his management of his instructions was more prosperous. He desired, that those who wished well to their Religion and their Country would meet together, and concert such advices and advertisements, as might be fit for the Prince to know, that he might govern himself by them. The Marquis of *Halifax*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Devonshire*, *Danby*, and *Nottingham*, the Lords *Mordaunt*, and *Lumley*, *Herbert* and *Russel* among the Admirals, and the Bishop of *London*, were the persons chiefly trusted. And upon the advices that were sent over by them the Prince governed all his motions. They met often at the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s. And there they concerted matters, and drew the declaration on which they advised the Prince to engage.

IN

IN this ſtate things lay for ſome months. But the King reſolved to go on in his deſign of breaking thro' the laws He ſent a Proclamation of indulgence to *Scotland* in *February*. It ſet forth in the preamble, that the King had an abſolute power veſted in him, ſo that all his ſubjects were bound to obey him without reſerve. By vertue of this power, the King repealed all the ſevere laws that were paſt in his Grandfather's name during his infancy: He with that took off all diſabilities that were by any law laid on his Roman Catholick ſubjects, and made them capable of all employments and benefices: He alſo ſlackned all the laws made againſt the moderate Presbyterians: And promiſed he would never force his ſubjects by any invincible neceſſity to change their religion: And he repealed all laws impoſing teſts on thoſe who held any employments: Inſtead of which he ſet up a new one, by which they ſhould renounce the principles of rebellion, and ſhould oblige themſelves to maintain the King in this his abſolute power againſt all mortals. 1687. A Proclamation of indulgence ſent to *Scotland*.

THIS was publiſhed in *Scotland*, to make way for that which followed it ſome months after in *England*. It was ſtrangely drawn, and liable to much juſt cenſure. The King by this raiſed his power to a pitch, not only of ſuſpending, but of repealing laws, and of enacting new ones by his own authority. His claiming an abſolute power, to which all men were bound to obey without reſerve, was an invaſion of all that was either legal Which was much cenſured.

1687. or ſacred. The only precedent that could be found for ſuch an extraordinary pretenſion, was in the declaration that *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain* ſent by the Duke of *Alva* into the *Netherlands*, in which he founded all the authority that he committed to that bloody man on the abſolute power that was veſted in him. Yet in this the King went farther than *Philip*, who did not pretend that the ſubjects were bound to obey without reſerve. Every Prince that believes the truth of Religion muſt confeſs, that there are reſerves in the obedience of their ſubjects, in caſe their commands ſhould be contrary to the laws of God. The requiring all perſons that ſhould be capable of employments to ſwear to maintain this, was to make them feel their ſlavery too ſenſibly. The King's promiſing to uſe *no invincible neceſſity* to force his ſubjects to change their religion, ſhewed that he allowed himſelf a very large reſerve in this grace that he promiſed his ſubjects; tho' he allowed them none in their obedience. The laws that had paſſed during King *James*'s minority had been often ratified by himſelf after he was of age. And they had received many ſubſequent confirmations in the ſucceeding reigns; and one in the King's own reign. And the teſt that was now taken away was paſt by the preſent King, when he repreſented his brother. Some took alſo notice of the word *moderate Preſbyterians*, as very ambiguous.

THE Court finding that ſo many objections lay againſt this Proclamation, (as indeed it ſeemed penned on purpoſe to raiſe new

new jealouſies,) let il fall; and ſent down another ſome months after that was more cautiouſly worded; only abſolute power was ſo dear to them, that it was ſtill aſſerted in the new one. By it, full liberty was granted to all Presbyterians to ſet up Conventicles in their own way. They did all accept of it without pretending any ſcruples. And they magnified this, as an extraordinary ſtroke of Providence, that a Prince, from whom they expected an encreaſe of the ſeverities under which the laws had brought them, ſhould thus of a ſudden allow them ſuch an unconfined liberty. But they were not ſo blind, as not to ſee what was aimed at by it. They made addreſſes upon it full of acknowledgments, and of proteſtations of loyalty. Yet, when ſome were ſent among them, preſſing them to diſpoſe all their party to concur with the King in taking away the teſts and penal laws, they anſwered them only in cold and general words. 1687.

A declaration for toleration in *England*.

In *April* the King ſet out a declaration of toleration and liberty of conſcience for *England*. But it was drawn up in much more modeſt terms, than the *Scottiſh* Proclamation had been. In the preamble, the King expreſſed his averſion to perſecution on the account of religion, and the neceſſity that he found of allowing his ſubjects liberty of conſcience, in which he did not doubt of the concurrence of his Parliament: He renewed his promiſe of maintaing the Church of *England*, as it was by law eſtabliſhed: But with this he ſuſpended all penal and

1687. ſanguinary laws in matters of religion: And, ſince the ſervice of all his ſubjects was due to him by the law of nature, he declared them all equally capable of employments, and ſuppreſſed all oaths or teſts that limited this: In concluſion, he promiſed he would maintain all his ſubjects in all their properties, and particulary in the poſſeſſion of the Abbey lands.

THIS gave great offence to all true patriots, as well as to the whole Church party. The King did now aſſume a power of repealing laws by his own authority: For tho' he pretended only to ſuſpend them, yet no limitation was ſet to this ſuſpenſion: So it amounted to a repeal, the laws being ſuſpended for all time to come. The preamble, that pretended ſo much love and charity, and that condemned perſecution, ſounded ſtrangely in the mouth of a Popiſh Prince. The King's ſaying that he did not doubt of the Parliament's concurring with him in this matter ſeemed ridiculous; For it was viſible by all the prorogations, that the King was but too well aſſured, that the Parliament would not concur with him in it. And the promiſe to maintain the ſubjects in their poſſeſſions of the Abbey lands, looked as if the deſign of ſetting up Popery was thought very near being effected, ſince otherwiſe there was no need of mentioning any ſuch thing.

Addreſſes made upon it.

UPON this a new ſet of addreſſes went round the Diſſenters. And they, who had ſo long reproached the Church of *England*, as

as too courtly in their ſubmiſſions and flat- 1687.
teries, ſeemed now to vie with them in thoſe abject ſtrains. Some of them, being penned by perſons whom the Court had gained, contained ſevere reflections on the Clergy, and on their proceedings. They magnified the King's mercy and favour, and made great proteſtations of fidelity and gratitude. Many promiſed to endeavour, that ſuch perſons ſhould be choſen to ſerve in Parliament, as ſhould concur with the King in the enacting what he now granted ſo graciouſly Few concurred in thoſe addreſſes: And the perſons that brought them up were mean and inconſiderable. Yet the Court was lifted up with this. The King and his Prieſts were delighted with theſe addreſſes out of meaſure: And they ſeemed to think that they had gained the Nation, and had now conquered thoſe who were hitherto their moſt irreconcilable enemies. The King made the cruelty of the Church of *England* the common ſubject of his diſcourſe. He reproached them for ſetting on ſo often a violent perſecution of the Diſſenters. He ſaid, he had intended to have ſet on this toleration ſooner, but that he was reſtrained by ſome of them, who had treated with him, and had undertaken to ſhew favour to thoſe of his religion, provided they might be ſtill ſuffered to vex the Diſſenters. He named the perſons that had made thoſe propoſitions to him. In which he ſuffered much in his honour: For as the perſons denied the whole thing, ſo

1687. the freedom of diſcourſe in any ſuch treaty ought not to have been made uſe of to defame them.

The King's indignation againſt the Church party.

BUT, to carry this further, and to give a publick and an odious proof of the rigour of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, the King ordered an enquiry to be made into all the vexatious ſuits into which Diſſenters had been brought in theſe Courts, and into all the compoſitions that they had been forced to make to redeem themſelves from further trouble; which, as was ſaid, would have brought a ſcandalous diſcovery of all the ill practices of thoſe Courts. For the uſe that many that belonged to them had made of the laws with relation to the Diſſenters, was, to draw preſents from ſuch of them as could make them; threatning them with a proceſs in caſe they failed to do that, and upon their doing it leaving them at full liberty to neglect the laws as much as they pleaſed. It was hoped at Court, that this fury againſt the Church would have animated the Diſſenters to turn upon the Clergy with ſome of that fierceneſs, with which they themſelves had been lately treated. Some few of the hotter of the Diſſenters anſwered their expectations. Angry ſpeeches and virulent books were publiſhed. Yet thoſe were diſowned by the wiſer men among them: And the Clergy, by a general agreement, made no anſwer to them. So that the matter was let fall, to the great grief of the Popiſh party. Some of the Biſhops, that were gained by the Court, carried their compliance to a ſhameful pitch: For they ſet on addreſſes of thanks to the King

for

for the promiſe he had made in the late declaration of maintaining the Church of *England*; tho' it was viſible that the intent of it was to deſtroy the Church. Some few were drawn into this. But the Biſhop of *Oxford* had ſo ill ſucceſs in his Dioceſe, that he got but one ſingle Clergyman to concur with him in it. Some fooliſh men retained ſtill their old peeviſhneſs. But the far greater part of the Clergy began to open their eyes, and ſee how they had been engaged by ill meaning men, who were now laying off the mask, into all the fury that been driven on for had many years by a Popiſh party. And it was often ſaid, that, if ever God ſhould deliver them out of the preſent diſtreſs, they would keep up their domeſtick quarrels no more, which were ſo viſibly and ſo artfully managed by our enemies to make us devour one another, and ſo in the end to be conſumed one of another. And when ſome of thoſe who had been always moderate told theſe, who were putting on another temper, that they would perhaps forget this as ſoon as the danger was over, they promiſed the contrary very ſolemnly. It ſhall be told afterwards, how well they remembred this. Now the Bed-chamber and Drawing-room were as full of ſtories to the prejudice of the Clergy, as they were formerly to the prejudice of the Diſſenters. It was ſaid, they had been loyal as long as the Court was in their intereſts, and was venturing all on their account; but as ſoon as this changed, they changed likewiſe. 1687.

1687. THE King, seeing no hope of prevailing on his Parliament, dissolved it; but gave it out, that he would have a new one before winter. And, the Queen being advised to go to the *Bath* for her health, the King resolved on a great progress thro' some of the western Counties.

The Parliament was dissolved

The reception of the Pope's Nuntio.

BEFORE he set out, he resolved to give the Pope's Nuntio a solemn reception at *Windsor*. He apprehended some disorder might have happen'd, if it had been done at *London*. He thought it below both his own dignity and the Pope's, not to give the Nuntio a publick audience. This was a hard point for those who were to act a part in this ceremony; for, all commerce with the See of *Rome* being declared high treason by law, this was believed to fall within the statute. It was so apprehended by Queen *Mary*. Cardinal *Pool* was obliged to stay in *Flanders* till all those laws were repealed. But the King would not stay for that. The Duke of *Somerset*, being the Lord of the Bed-chamber then in waiting, had advised with his Lawyers: And they told him, he could not safely do the part that was expected of him in the audience. So he told the King, that he could not serve him upon that occasion; for he was assured it was against the law. The King asked him, if he did not know that he was above the law. The Duke answered, that, whatever the King might be, he himself was not above the law. The King expressed a high displeasure, and turned him out of all employments.

The

The ceremony paſt very heavily: And the compliment was pronounced with ſo low a voice, that no perſon could hear it; which was believed done by concert. 1687.

The King made a progreſs thro' many parts of *England*.

WHEN this was over, the King ſet out for his progreſs, and went from *Salisbury* all round as far as to *Cheſter*. In the places thro' which the King paſt, he ſaw a viſible coldneſs both in the Nobility and Gentry, which was not eaſily born by a man of his temper. In many places they pretended occaſions to go out of their countries. Some ſtaid at home. And thoſe who waited on the King ſeemed to do it rather out of duty and reſpect, than with any cordial affection. The King on his part was very obliging to all that came near him, and moſt particularly to the Diſſenters, and to thoſe who had paſſed long under the notion of Commonwealth's men. He looked very graciouſly on all that had been of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s party. He addreſſed his diſcourſe generally to all ſorts of people. He ran out on the point of liberty of conſcience: He ſaid, this was the true ſecret of the greatneſs and wealth of *Holland*. He was well pleaſed to hear all the ill natured ſtories that were brought him of the violences committed of late, either by the Juſtices of Peace, or by the Clergy. He every where recommended to them the chooſing ſuch Parliament men, as would concur with him in ſettling this liberty as firmly as the *Magna Charta* had been: And to this he never forgot to add the taking away the Teſts. But he received ſuch

1687. ſuch cold and general anſwers, that he ſaw, he could not depend on them. The King had deſigned to go thro' many more places: But the ſmall ſucceſs he had in thoſe which he viſited made him ſhorten his progreſs. He went and viſited the Queen at the *Bath*, where he ſtaid only a few days, two or three at moſt: And ſhe continued on in her courſe of bathing. Many books were now writ for liberty of conſcience: And, ſince all people ſaw what ſecurity the Teſts gave, theſe ſpoke of an equivalent to be offered, that ſhould give a further ſecurity, beyond what could be pretended from the Teſts. It was never explained what was meant by this: So it was thought an artificial method to lay men aſleep with a high ſounding word. Some talked of new laws to ſecure civil liberty, which had been ſo much ſhaken by the practices of theſe laſt years, ever ſince the *Oxford* Parliament. Upon this a very extravagant thing was given out, that the King was reſolved to ſet up a ſort of a Commonwealth: And the Papiſts began to talk every where very high for publick liberty, trying by that to recommend themſelves to the Nation.

A change of the Magiſtracy in *London* and over *England*.

WHEN the King came back from his progreſs, he reſolved to change the Magiſtracy in moſt of the Cities of *England*. He began with *London*. He not only changed the Court of Aldermen, but the government of many of the companies of the City: For great powers had been reſerved in the new Charters that had been given, for the King to put in and to put out at pleaſure. It was ſaid

said at the granting them, that these clauses were put in only to keep them in a due dependance on the Court, but that they should not be made use of, unless great provocation was given. Now all this was executed with great severity and contempt. Those, who had stood up for the King during the debates about the Exclusion, were now turned out with disgrace: And those who had appeared most violently against him were put in the Magistracy, who took liberties now in their turn to insult their neighbours. All this turned upon the King, who was so given up to the humours of his Priests, that he sacrificed both his honour and gratitude as they dictated. The new men, who were brought in, saw this too visibly to be much wrought on by it. 1687.

THE King threw off his old party in too outrageous a manner ever to return to them again. But he was much surprised to find that the new Mayor and Aldermen took the Test, and ordered the observation of Gunpowder-treason-day to be continued. When the Sheriffs came according to custom to invite the King to the Lord Mayor's feast, he commanded them to go and invite the Nuntio; which they did. And he went upon the invitation, to the surprize of all who saw it. But the Mayor and Alderman disowned the invitation; and made an entry of it in their books, that the Nuntio came without their knowledge. This the King took very ill. And upon it he said, he saw the Dissenters were an ill natured sort of people, that could not be gained. The King signified to the Lord

1687. Lord Mayor, that he might uſe what form of worſhip he liked beſt in *Guildhall* Chapel. The deſign in this was to engage the Diſſenters to make the firſt change from the eſtabliſhed worſhip: And, if a Presbyterian Mayor ſhould do this in one year, a Popiſh Mayor might do it in another. But the Mayor put the deciſion of this upon perſons againſt whom the Court could have no exception. He ſent to thoſe, to whom the governing of the Dioceſe of *London* was committed during the ſuſpenſion, and asked their opinion in it; which they could not but give in behalf of the eſtabliſhed worſhip: And they added, that the changing it was againſt law. So this project miſcarried: And the Mayor, tho' he went ſometimes to the meetings of the Diſſenters, yet he came often to Church, and behaved himſelf more decently than was expected of him.

This change in the City not ſucceeding as the Court had expected, did not diſcourage them from appointing a Committee to examine the Magiſtracy in the other Cities, and to put in or out as they ſaw cauſe for it. Some were putting the Nation in hope, that the old Charters were to be reſtored. But the King was ſo far from that, that he was making every day a very arbitrary uſe of the power of changing the Magiſtracy, that was reſerved in the new Charters. Theſe Regulators, who were for moſt part Diſſenters gained by the Court, went on very boldly; and turned men out upon every ſtory that was made of them, and put ſuch men in their

their room as they confided in. And in these they took their measures often so hastily, that men were put in in one week, and turned out in another. 1687.

AFTER this the King sent orders to the Lords Lieutenants of the Counties, to examine the Gentlemen and Freeholders upon three questions. The first was, whether, in case they should be chosen to serve in Parliament, they would consent to repeal the penal laws, and those for the Tests. The second was, whether they would give their vote for chooſing such men as would engage to do that. And the third was, whether they would maintain the King's declaration. In most of the Counties the Lords Lieutenants put those questions in so careless a manner, that it was plain they did not desire they should be answered in the affirmative. Some went further, and declared themselves against them. And a few of the more resolute refused to put them. They said, this was the prelimiting, and the packing of a Parliament, which in its nature was to be free, and under no previous engagement. Many Counties answered very boldly in the negative: And others refused to give any answer, which was understood to be equivalent to a negative. The Mayor and most of the new Aldermen of *London* refused to answer. Upon this many were turned out of all Commissions. Questions put about elections of Parliament.

This, as all the other artifices of the Priests, had an effect quite contrary to what they

1687. they promiſed themſelves from it: For thoſe who had reſolved to oppoſe the Court were more encouraged than ever, by the diſcovery now made of the ſenſe of the whole Nation in thoſe matters. Yet ſuch care was taken in naming the Sheriffs and Mayors that were appointed for the next year, that it was believed the King was reſolved to hold a Parliament within that time, and to have ſuch a Houſe of Commons returned, whether regularly choſen, or not, as ſhould ſerve his ends.

IT was concluded, that the King would make uſe both of his power and of his troops, either to force elections, or to put the Parliament under a force when it ſhould meet: For it was ſo poſitively ſaid, that the King would carry his point, and there was ſo little appearence of his being able to do it in a fair and regular way, that it was generally believed, ſome very deſperate reſolution was now taken up. His Miniſters were now ſo deeply engaged in illegal things, that they were very uneaſy, and were endeavouring either to carry on his deſigns with ſucceſs, ſo as to get all ſettled in a body that ſhould carry the face and appearance of a Parliament, or at leaſt to bring him to let all fall, and to come into terms of agreement with his people; in which caſe, they reckoned, one article would be an indemnity for all that had been done.

THE King was every day ſaying, that he was King, and he would be obeyed, and would make thoſe who oppoſed him feel that

that he was their King: And he had both Priests and flatterers about him, that were still pushing him forward. All men grew melancholly with this sad prospect. The hope of the true Protestants was in the King's two daughters; chiefly on the eldest, who was out of his reach, and was known to be well instructed, and very zealous in matters of Religion. The Princess *Anne* was still very stedfast and regular in her devotions, and was very exemplary in the course of her life. But, as care had been taken to put very ordinary Divines about her for her Chaplains, so she had never pursued any study in those points with much application. And, all her Court being put about her by the King and Queen, she was beset with spies. It was therefore much apprehended, that she would be strongly assaulted, when all other designs should so far succeed as to make that seasonable. In the mean while she was let alone by the King, who was indeed a very kind and indulgent Father to her. Now he resolved to make his first attack on the Princess of *Orange*. *D'Albeville* went over to *England* in the summer, and did not come back before the twenty fourth of *December*, *Christmas* Eve. And then he gave the Princess a letter from the King, bearing date the fourth of *November*. He was to carry this letter: And his dispatches being put off longer than was intended, that made this letter come so late to her. 1687.

The King wrote to the Princess of *Orange* about Religion.

THE King took the rise of his letter from a question she had put to *Albeville*, desiring

1687. to know what were the grounds upon which the King himſelf had changed his Religion. The King told her, he was bred up in the doctrine of the Church of *England* by Dr. *Stewart*, whom the King his father had put about him; in which he was ſo zealous, that when he perceived the Queen his Mother had a deſign upon the Duke of *Gloceſter*, tho' he preſerved ſtill the reſpect that he owed her, yet he took care to prevent it. All the while that he was beyond ſea, no Catholick, but one Nun, had ever ſpoken one word to perſuade him to change his Religion: And he continued for the moſt part of that time firm to the doctrine of the Church of *England*. He did not then mind thoſe matters much: And as all young people are apt to do, he thought it a point of honour not to change his Religion. The firſt thing that raiſed ſcruples in him was, the great devotion that he had obſerved among Catholicks: He ſaw they had great helps for it: They had their Churches better adorned, and did greater acts of charity, than he had ever ſeen among Proteſtants. He alſo obſerved, that many of them changed their courſe of life, and became good Chriſtians, even tho' they continued to live ſtill in the world. This made him firſt begin to examine both Religions. He could ſee nothing in the three reigns in which religion was changed in *England*, to incline him to believe that they who did it were ſent of God. He read the hiſtory of that time, as it was writ in the Chronicle. He read both Dr. *Heylin*, and *Hooker's*

Hooker's preface to his Eccleſiaſtical Polity, which confirmed him in the ſame opinion. He ſaw clearly, that Chriſt had left an infallibility in his Church, againſt which *the gates of Hell cannot prevail*: And it appeared that this was lodged with St. *Peter*, from our Saviour's words to him, St. *Mat.* xvi. ver. 18. Upon this the certainty of the Scriptures, and even of Chriſtianity it ſelf, was founded. The Apoſtles acknowledged this to be in St. *Peter*, *Acts* xv. when they ſaid, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us.* It was the authority of the Church that declared the Scriptures to be Canonical: And certainly they who declared them could only interpret them. And where-ever this infaillibility was, there muſt be a clear ſucceſſion. The point of the infallibility being once ſettled, all other controverſies muſt needs fall. Now the *Roman* Church was the only Church that either has infallibility, or that pretended to it. And they who threw off this authority did open a door to Atheiſm and Infidelity, and took people off from true devotion, and ſet even Chriſtianity it ſelf looſe to all that that would queſtion it, and to Socinians and Latitudinarians who doubted of every thing. He had diſcourſed of theſe things with ſome Divines of the Church of *England*; but had received no ſatisfaction from them. The Chriſtian Religion gained its credit by the miracles which the Apoſtles wrought, and by the holy lives and ſufferings of the Martyrs, whoſe blood was the ſeed of the Church. Whereas *Luther* and *Calvin*, and thoſe who 1687.

1687. had ſet up the Church of *England*, had their heads fuller of temporal matters than of ſpiritual, and had let the world looſe to great diſorders. Submiſſion was neceſſary to the peace of the Church: And when every man will expound the Scriptures, this makes way to all ſects, who pretend to build upon it. It was alſo plain, that the Church of *England* did not pretend to infallibility: Yet ſhe acted as if ſhe did: For ever ſince the Reformation ſhe had perſecuted thoſe who differed from her, Diſſenters as well as Papiſts, more than was generally known. And he could not ſee why Diſſenters might not ſeparate from the Church of *England*, as well as ſhe had done from the Church of *Rome*. Nor could the Church of *England* ſeparate her ſelf from the Catholick Church, any more than a County of *England* could ſeparate it ſelf from the reſt of the Kingdom. This, he ſaid, was all that his leiſure allowed him to write. But he thought that theſe things, together with the King his brother's papers, and the Ducheſs's papers, might ſerve, if not to juſtify the Catholick Religion to an unbiaſſed judgment, yet at leaſt to create a favourable opinion of it.

I read this letter in the original: For the Prince ſent it to me together with the Princeſs's anſwer, but with a charge not to take a copy of either, but to read them over as often as I pleaſed; which I did till I had fixed both pretty well in my memory. And, as ſoon as I had ſent them back, I ſat down immediately to write out all that I remembred, which

which the Princeſs owned to me afterwards, when ſhe read the abſtracts I made, were punctual almoſt to a tittle. It was eaſy for me to believe that this letter was all the King's enditing; for I had heard almoſt all the very ſame words from his own mouth. The letter was writ very decently, and concluded very modeſtly. The Princeſs received this letter, as was told me, on the twenty fourth of *December* at night. Next day being *Chriſtmas* day, ſhe received the Sacrament, and was during the greateſt part of the day in publick devotions: Yet ſhe found time to draw firſt an anſwer, and then to write it out fair: And ſhe ſent it by the poſt on the twenty ſixth of *December*. Her draught, which the Prince ſent me, was very little blotted or altered. It was long, about two ſheets of paper: For as an anſwer runs generally out into more length than the paper that is to be anſwered, ſo the ſtrains of reſpect, with which her letter was full, drew it out to a greater length. 1687.

SHE began with anſwering another letter that ſhe had received by the poſt; in which the King had made an excuſe for failing to write the former poſt day. She was very ſenſible of the happineſs of hearing ſo conſtantly from him: For no difference in religion could hinder her from deſiring both his bleſſing and his prayers, tho' ſhe was ever ſo far from him. As for the paper that *M. d'Albeville* delivered her, he told her, that his Majeſty would not be offended, if ſhe wrote her thoughts freely to him upon it. Which ſhe anſwered.

1687. SHE hoped, he would not look on that as want of respect in her. She was far from sticking to the Religion in which she was bred out of a point of honour; for she had taken much pains to be settled in it upon better grounds. Those of the Church of *England* who had instructed her, had freely laid before her that which was good in the Romish Religion, that so, seeing the good and the bad of both, she might judge impartially; according to the Apostle's rule of *proving all things, and holding fast that which was good.* Tho' she had come young out of *England*, yet she had not left behind her either the desire of being well informed, or the means for it. She had furnished her self with books, and had those about her who might clear any doubts to her. She saw clearly in the Scriptures, that she must work her own salvation with fear and trembling, and that she must not believe by the faith of another, but according as things appeared to her self. It ought to be no prejudice against the Reformation, if many of those who professed it led ill lives. If any of them lived ill, none of the principles of their religion allowed them in it. Many of them led good lives, and more might do it by the grace of God. But there were many devotions in the Church of *Rome*, on which the Reformed could set no value.

SHE acknowledged, that, if there was an infallibility in the Church, all other controversies must fall to the ground. But she could never yet be informed where that infal-

libility

libility was lodged: Whether in the Pope alone, or in a General Council, or in both. And ſhe deſired to know in whom the infallibility reſted, when there were two or three Popes at a time, acting one againſt another, with the aſſiſtance of Councils, which they called General: And at leaſt the ſucceſſion was then much diſordered. As for the authority that is pretended to have been given to St. *Peter* over the reſt, that place which was chiefly alledged for it was otherwiſe interpreted by thoſe of the Church of *England*, as importing only the confirmation of him in the office of an Apoſtle, when in anſwer to that queſtion, *Simon, ſon of* Jonas, *loveſt thou me*, he had by a triple confeſſion waſhed off his triple denial. The words that the King had cited were ſpoken to the other Apoſtles as well as to him. It was agreed by all that the Apoſtles were infallible, who were guided by God's holy Spirit. But that gift, as well as many others, had ceaſed long ago. Yet in that St. *Peter* had no authority over the other Apoſtles: Otherwiſe St. *Paul* underſtood our Saviour's words ill, who *withſtood him to his face, becauſe he was to be blamed.* And if St. *Peter* himſelf could not maintain that authority, ſhe could not ſee how it could be given to his ſucceſſors, whoſe bad lives agreed ill with his doctrine. 1687.

Nor did ſhe ſee, why the ill uſe that ſome made of the Scriptures ought to deprive others of them. It is true, all ſects make uſe of them, and find ſomewhat in them that they draw in to ſupport their opinions: Yet for all this our Saviour ſaid to

1687. the *Jews*, *ſearch the Scriptures*; and St. *Paul* ordered his epiſtles to be read to all the the Saints in the Churches; and he ſays in one place, *I write as to wiſemen, judge what I ſay.* And if they might judge an Apoſtle, much more any other teacher. Under the law of *Moſes*, the Old Teſtament was to be read, not only in the hearing of the Scribes and the Doctors of the law, but likewiſe in the hearing of the women and children. And ſince God had made us reaſonable creatures, it ſeemed neceſſary to employ our reaſons chiefly in the matters of the greateſt concern. Tho' faith was above our reaſon, yet it propoſed nothing to us that was contradictory to it. Every one ought to ſatisfy himſelf in theſe things: As our Saviour convinced *Thomas*, by making him to thruſt his own hand into the print of the nails, not leaving him to the teſtimony of the other Apoſtles, who were already convinced. She was confident, that, if the King would hear many of his own ſubjects, they would fully ſatisfy him as to all thoſe prejudices, that he had at the Reformation; in which nothing was acted tumultuouſly, but all was done according to law. The deſign of it was only, to ſeparate from the *Roman* Church, in ſo far as it had ſeparated from the primitive Church: In which they had brought things to as great a degree of perfection, as thoſe corrupt ages were capable of. She did not ſee, how the Church of *England* could be blamed for the perſecution of the Diſſenters: For the laws made

made againſt them were made by the State, and not by the Church: And they were made for crimes againſt the State. Their enemies had taken great care to foment the diviſion, in which they had been but too ſucceſsful. But, if he would reflect on the grounds upon which the Church of *England* had ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*, he would find them to be of a very different nature from thoſe for which the Diſſenters had ſeperated. 1687.

Thus, ſhe concluded, ſhe gave him the trouble of a long account of the grounds upon which ſhe was perſuaded of the truth of her religion: In which ſhe was ſo fully ſatisfied, that ſhe truſted by the grace of God that ſhe ſhould ſpend the reſt of her days in it: And ſhe was ſo well aſſured of the truth of our Saviour's words, that ſhe was confident the gates of hell ſhould not prevail againſt it, but that he would be with it to the end of the world. All ended thus, that the Religion which ſhe profeſſed taught her her duty to him, ſo that ſhe ſhould ever be his moſt obedient daughter and ſervant.

TO this the next return of the poſt brought an anſwer from the King, which I ſaw not. But the account that was ſent me of it was: The King took notice of the great progreſs he ſaw the Princeſs had made in her enquiries after thoſe matters: The King's buſineſs did not allow him the time that was neceſſary to enter into the detail of her letter: He deſired, ſhe would read thoſe books that he had mentioned to her in his former letters, and ſome others that he intended to ſend her:

1687. And, if ſhe deſired to be more fully ſatisfied, he propoſed to her to diſcourſe about them with *F. Morgan*, an *Engliſh* Jeſuit then at the *Hague*.

Reflections on theſe letters.

I have ſet down very minutely every particular that was in thoſe letters, and very near in the ſame words. It muſt be confeſſed, that perſons of this Quality ſeldom enter into ſuch a diſcuſſion. The King's letter contained a ſtudied account of the change of his Religion, which he had repeated often: And it was perhaps prepared for him by ſome others. There were ſome things in it, which, if he had made a little more reflection on them, it may be ſuppoſed he would not have mentioned. The courſe of his own life was not ſo ſtrict, as to make it likely that the good lives of ſome Papiſts had made ſuch impreſſions upon him. The eaſy abſolutions that are granted in that Church are a much juſter prejudice in this reſpect againſt it, than the good lives of a few can be ſuppoſed to be an argument for it. The adorning their Churches, was a reflection that did no great honour to him that made it. The ſeverities uſed by the Church of *England* againſt the Diſſenters were urged with a very ill grace by one of the Church of *Rome*, that has delighted her ſelf ſo often by being, as it were, bathed with the blood of thoſe they call hereticks: And, if it had not been for the reſpect that a daughter paid her father, here greater advantages might have been taken. I had a high opinion of the Princeſs's good underſtanding, and of her knowledge in thoſe mat-

matters, before I saw this letter: But this surprized me. It gave me an astonishing joy, to see so young a person all of the sudden, without consulting any one person, to be able to write so solid and learned a letter, in which she mixed with the respect that she paid a father so great a firmness, that by it she cut off all further treaty. And her repulsing the attack, that the King made upon her, with so much resolution and force, did let the Popish party see, that she understood her Religion as well as she loved it. 1687.

BUT now I must say somewhat of my self: After I had staid a year in *Holland*, I heard from many hands, that the King seemed to forget his own greatness when he spoke of me, which he took occasion to do very often. I had published some account of the short *Tour* I had made, in several letters, in which my chief design was to expose both Popery and Tyranny. The book was well received, and was much read: And it raised the King's displeasure very high.

A prosecution set on against me.

My continuing at the *Hague* made him conclude, that I was managing designs against him. And some papers in single sheets came out, reflecting on the proceedings of *England*, which seemed to have a considerable effect on those who read them. These were printed in *Holland*: And many copies of them were sent into all the parts of *England*. All which inflamed the King the more against me; for he believed they were writ by me, as indeed most of them were. But that

1687. that which gave the criſis to the King's anger was, that he heard I was to be married to a conſiderable fortune at the *Hague*. So a project was formed to break this, by charging me with high treaſon for correſponding with Lord *Argile*, and for converſing with ſome that were outlawed for high treaſon.

THE King ordered a letter to be writ in his name to his Advocate in *Scotland* to proſecute me for ſome probable thing or other; which was intended only to make a noiſe, not doubting but this would break the intended marriage. A ſhip coming from *Scotland* the day in which this proſecution was ordered, that had a quick paſſage, brought me the firſt news of it, long before it was ſent to *D'Albeville*. So I petitioned the States, who were then ſitting, to be naturalized in order to my intended marriage. And this paſt in courſe, without the leaſt difficulty; which perhaps might have been made, if this proſecution, now begun in *Scotland*, had been known. Now I was legally under the protection of the States of *Holland*. Yet I writ a full juſtification of my ſelf, as to all particulars laid to my charge, in ſome letters that I ſent to the Earl of *Middleton*. But in one of theſe I ſaid, that, being now naturalized in *Holland*, my allegiance was, during my ſtay in theſe parts, transferred from his Majeſty to the States. I alſo ſaid in another letter, that, if upon my non-appearence a ſentence ſhould paſs againſt me, I might be perhaps forced to juſtify my ſelf, and to give an account of the ſhare that I had in

in affairs theſe twenty years paſt: In which I might be led to mention ſome things, that I was afraid would diſpleaſe the King: And therefore I ſhould be ſorry, if I were driven to it. 1687.

NOW the Court thought they had ſomewhat againſt me: For they knew they had nothing before. So the firſt citation was let fall, and a new one was ordered on theſe two accounts. It was pretended to be high treaſon, to ſay my allegiance was now tranferred: And it was ſet forth, as a high indignity to the King, to threaten him with writing a hiſtory of the tranſactions paſt theſe laſt twenty years. The firſt of theſe ſtruck at a great point, which was a part of the law of Nations. Every man that was naturalized took an oath of allegiance to the Prince or State that naturalized him. And, ſince no man can ſerve two maſters, or be under a double allegiance, it is certain, that there muſt be a transfer of allegiance, at leaſt during the ſtay in the country where one is ſo naturalized.

THIS matter was kept up againſt me for ſome time, the Court delaying proceeding to any ſentence for ſeveral months. At laſt a ſentence of outlawry was given: And upon that *Albeville* ſaid, that, if the States would not deliver me up, he would find ſuch inſtruments as ſhould ſeize on me, and carry me away forcibly. The methods he named of doing this were very ridiculous. And he ſpoke of it to ſo many perſons, that I believe his deſign was rather to frighten me, than

1687. than that he could think to effect them. Many overtures were made to ſome of my friends in *London*, not only to let this proſecution fall, but to promote me, if I would make my ſelf capable of it. I entertained none of theſe. I had many ſtories brought me of the diſcourſes among ſome of the brutal *Iriſh*, then in the *Dutch* ſervice. But, I thank God, I was not moved with them. I reſolved to go on, and to do my duty, and to do what ſervice I could to the publick, and to my Country: And reſigned my ſelf up entirely to that Providence, that had watched over me to that time with an indulgent care, and had made all the deſigns of my enemies againſt me turn to my great advantage.

1688. I come now to the year 1688, which proved memorable, and produced an extraordinary and unheard-of Revolution. The year in this Century made all people reflect on the ſame year in the former Century, in which the power of *Spain* received ſo great a check, that the decline of that Monarchy began then; and *England* was ſaved from an invaſion, that, if it had ſucceeded as happily as it was well laid, muſt have ended in the abſolute conqueſt and utter ruin of the Nation. Our books are ſo full of all that related to that *Armada*, boaſted to be invincible, that I need add no more of ſo known and ſo remarkable a piece of our hiſtory. A new eighty eight raiſed new expectations, in which the ſurpriſing events did

did far exceed all that could have been looked for. 1688.

I begin the year with *Albeville*'s negotiation after his coming to the *Hague*. He had before his going over given in a threatning memorial upon the buſineſs of *Bantam*, that looked like a prelude of a declaration of war; for he demanded a preſent anſwer, ſince the King could no longer bear the injuſtice done him in that matter, which was ſet forth in very high words. He ſent this memorial to be printed at *Amſterdam*, before he had communicated it to the States. The chief effect that this had was, that the Actions of the Company did ſink for ſome days. But they roſe ſoon again: And by this it was ſaid, that *Albeville* himſelf made the greateſt gain. The *Eaſt India* fleet was then expected home every day. So the Merchants, who remembred well the buſineſs of the *Smirna* fleet in the year ſeventy two, did apprehend that the King had ſent a fleet to intercept them, and that this memorial was intended only to prepare an apology for that breach, when it ſhould happen; But nothing of that ſort followed upon it. The States did anſwer this memorial with another, that was firm, but more decently expreſſed: By their laſt treaty with *England* it was provided, that, in caſe any diſputes ſhould ariſe between the Merchants of either ſide, Commiſſioners ſhould be named of both ſides to hear and judge the matter: The King had not yet named any of his ſide: So that the delay lay at his door: They were therefore amazed

Albeville's memorial to the States.

1687. amazed to receive a memorial in so high a strain, since they had done all that by the treaty was incombent on them. *Albeville* after this gave in another memorial, in which he desired them to send over Commissioners for ending that dispute. But, tho' this was a great fall from the height in which the former memorial was conceived, yet in this the thing was so ill apprehended, that the *Dutch* had reason to believe that the King's Ministers did not know the treaty, or were not at leisure to read it: For, according to the treaty, and the present posture of that business, the King was obliged to send over Commissioners to the *Hague* to judge of that affair. When this memorial was answered, and the treaty was examined, the matter was let fall.

ALBEVILLE's next negotiation related to my self. I had printed a paper in justification of my self, together with my letters to the Earl of *Middleton*. And he in a memorial complained of two passages in that paper. One was, that I said it was yet too early to persecute men for religion, and therefore crimes against the State were pretended by my enemies: This, he said, did insinuate, that the King did in time intend to persecute for religion. The other was, that I had put in it an intimation, that I was in danger by some of the *Irish* Papists. This, he said, was a reflection on the King, who hated all such practices. And to this he added, that by the laws of *England* all the King's subjects were bound to seize on any person that was con-

condemned in his Courts, in what manner ſoever they could: And therefore he deſired, that both I and the printer of that paper might be puniſhed. But now upon his return to the *Hague*, I being outlawed by that time, he demanded, that, in perſuance of an article of the Treaty that related to rebels or fugitives, I might be baniſhed the Provinces. And to this he craved once and again a ſpeedy anſwer. 1688.

I was called before the Deputies of the States of *Holland*, that I might anſwer the two memorials that lay before them relating to my ſelf. I obſerved the difference between them. The one deſired, that the States would puniſh me, which did acknowledge me to be their ſubject. The other, in contradiction to that, laid claim to me as the King's rebel. As to the particulars complained of, I had made no reflection on the King; but to the contrary. I ſaid, my enemies found it was not yet time to perſecute for religion. This inſinuated, that the King could not be brought to it. And no perſon could be offended with this, but he who thought it was now not too early to perſecute. As to that of the danger in which I apprehended my ſelf to be in, I had now more reaſon than before to complain of it, ſince the Envoy had ſo publickly affirmed, that every one of the King's ſubjects might ſeize on any one that was condemned, in what manner ſoever they could, which was either dead or alive. I was now the ſubject of the States of *Holland*, naturalized in order to a marriage among

1688. them, as they all knew: And therefore I claimed their protection. So, if I was charged with any thing that was not according to law, I ſubmitted my ſelf to their juſtice. I ſhould decline no trial, nor the utmoſt ſeverity, if I had offended in any thing. As for the two memorials that claimed me as a fugitive and a rebel; I could not be looked on as a fugitive from *Scotland:* It was now fourteen years ſince I had left that Kingdom, and three ſince I came out of *England* with the King's leave. I had lived a year in the *Hague* openly; and nothing was laid to my charge. As for the ſentence that was pretended to be paſt upon me, I could ſay nothing to it, till I ſaw a copy of it.

The States anſwer to what related to me.

THE States were fully ſatisfied with my anſwers; and ordered a memorial to be drawn according to them. They alſo ordered their Embaſſador to repreſent to the King, that he himſelf knew how ſacred a thing naturalization was. The faith and honour of every State was concerned in it. I had been naturalized upon marrying one of their ſubjects, which was the juſteſt of all reaſons. If the King had any thing to lay to my charge, juſtice ſhould be done in their Courts. The King took the matter very ill; and ſaid, it was an affront to him, and a juſt cauſe of war. Yet, after much paſſion, he ſaid, he did not intend to make war upon it: for he was not then in condition to do it. But he knew there were deſigns againſt him, to make war on him, againſt which he ſhould take care to ſecure himſelf: And he ſhould be on his

his guard. The Embaſſador asked him, of whom he meant that. But he did not think fit to explain himſelf further. He ordered a third memorial to be put in againſt me, in which the article of the Treaty was ſet forth: But no notice was taken of the anſwers made to that by the States: But it was inſiſted on, that, ſince the States were bound not to give ſanctuary to fugitives and rebels, they ought not to examine the grounds on which ſuch judgments were given, but were bound to execute the Treaty. Upon this it was obſerved, that the words in treaties ought to be explained according to their common acceptation, or the ſenſe given them in the civil law, and not according to any particular forms of Courts, where for non-appearence a writ of outlawry or rebellion might lie: The ſenſe of the word Rebel in common uſe was, a man that had born arms, or had plotted againſt his Prince; And a fugitive was a man that fled from juſtice. The heat with which the King ſeemed inflamed againſt me, carried him to ſay and do many things that were very little to his honour. 1688.

Other deſigns againſt me.

I had advertiſements ſent me of a further progreſs in his deſigns againſt me. He had it ſuggeſted to him, that, ſince a ſentence was paſt againſt me for non-appearence, and the States refuſed to deliver me up, he might order private perſons to execute the ſentence as they could: And it was writ over very poſitively, that 5000 *l.* would be given to any one that ſhould murder me. A Gentleman of an unblemiſhed reputation writ me word,

1688. that he himſelf by accident ſaw an order drawn in the Secretaries Office, but not yet ſigned, for 3000 *l.* to a blank perſon that was to ſeize or deſtroy me. And he alſo affirmed, that Prince *George* had heard of the ſame thing, and had deſired the perſon to whom he truſted it to convey the notice of it to me: And my author was employed by that perſon to ſend the notice to me. The King asked *Jefferies*, what he might do againſt me in a private way, now that he could not get me into his hands? *Jefferies* anſwered, he did not ſee how the King could do any more than he had done. He told this to Mr. *Kirk* to ſend it to me: For he concluded, the King was reſolved to proceed to extremities, and only wanted the opinion of a man of the law to juſtify a more violent method. I had ſo many different advertiſements ſent me of this, that I concluded a whiſper of ſuch a deſign might have been ſet about, on deſign to frighten me into ſome mean ſubmiſſion, or into ſilence at leaſt. But it had no other effect on me, but that I thought it fit to ſtay more within doors, and to uſe a little more than ordinary caution. I thank God, I was very little concerned at it. I reſigned up my life very freely to God. I knew my own innocence, and the root of all the malice that was againſt me. And I never poſſeſſed my own ſoul in a more perfect calm, and in a clearer cheerfulneſs of ſpirit, than I did during all thoſe threatenings, and the apprehenſions that others were in concerning me.

SOON

SOON after this a letter writ by *Fagel* the Penſioner of *Holland* was printed: Which leads me to look back a little into a tranſaction that paſſed the former year. There was one *Steward*, a lawyer of *Scotland*, a man of great parts, and of as great ambition. He had given over the practice of the law, becauſe all that were admitted to the bar in *Scotland* were required to renounce the Covenant, which he would not do. This recommended him to the confidence of that whole party. They had made great uſe of him, and truſted him entirely. *Pen* had engaged him for he to come over had been long conſidered by the King as the chief manager of all the rebellions and plots that had been on foot theſe twenty years paſt, more particularly of *Argile*'s: And he undertook that he ſhould not only be received into favour, but into confidence. He came, before he croſſed the Seas, to the Prince, and promiſed an inviolable fidelity to him, and to the common intereſts of religion and liberty. He had been oft with the Penſioner, and had a great meaſure of his confidence. Upon his coming to Court, he was careſſed to a degree that amazed all who knew him. He either believed that the King was ſincere in the profeſſions he made, and that his deſigns went no further than to ſettle a full liberty of conſcience; Or he thought, that it became a man who had been ſo long in diſgrace, not to ſhew any jealouſies at firſt, when the King was ſo gracious to him. He undertook to do all that lay in his power to advance his

1688. Penſioner *Fagel*'s & Mr *Stewart*'s letters.

1688. designs in *Scotland*, and to repreſent his intentions ſo at the *Hague*, as might incline the Prince to a better opinion of them.

HE opened all this in ſeveral letters to the Penſioner. And in theſe he preſſed him vehemently, in the King's name, and by his direction, to perſuade the Prince to concur with the King in procuring the laws to be repealed. He laid before him the inconſiderable number of the Papiſts: So that there was no reaſon to apprehend much from them. He alſo enlarged on the ſeverities that the penal laws had brought on the Diſſenters. The King was reſolved not to conſent to the repealing them, unleſs the Teſts were taken away with them: So that the refuſing to conſent to this might at another time bring them under another ſevere proſecution. *Steward*, after he had writ many letters to this purpoſe without receiving any anſwers, tried if he could ſerve the King in *Scotland* with more ſucceſs, than it ſeemed he was like to have at the *Hague*. But he found there, that his old friends were now much alienated from him, looking on him as a perſon entirely gained by the Court.

THE Penſioner laid all his letters before the Prince. They were alſo brought to me. The Prince upon this thought, that a full anſwer made by *Fagel*, in ſuch a manner as that it might be publiſhed as a declaration of his intentions, might be of ſervice to him in many reſpects; chiefly in Popiſh Courts, that were on civil accounts inclined to an alliance againſt *France*, but were now poſſeſſed with

with an opinion of the Prince, and of his party in *England*, as designing nothing but the ruin and extirpation of all the Papists in those Kingdoms. So the Pensioner wrote a long answer to *Steward*, which was put in *English* by me. 1688.

HE began it with great assurances of the Prince & Princesses duty to the King. They were both of them much against all persecution on the account of religion. They freely consented to the covering Papists from the severities of the laws made against them on the account of their religion, and also that they might have the free exercise of it in private. They also consented to grant a full liberty to Dissenters. But they could not consent to the repeal of those laws that tended only to the securing the Protestant religion; such as those concerning the Tests, which imported no punishment, but only an incapacity of being in publick employments, which could not be complained of as great severities. This was a caution observed in all Nations, and was now necessary, both for securing the publick peace and the established religion. If the numbers of the Papists were so small as to make them inconsiderable, then it was not reasonable to make such a change for the sake of a few. And if those few, that pretended to publick employments, would do all their own party so great a prejudice, as not to suffer the King to be content with the repeal of the penal laws, unless they could get into the offices of trust, then their ambition was only to be blamed, if the offers now made were not accepted.

1688. The matter was very ſtrongly argued thro' the whole letter: And the Prince and Princeſs's zeal for the Proteſtant Religion was ſet out in terms, that could not be very acceptable to the King. The letter was carried by *Steward* to the King, and was brought by him into the Cabinet Council. But nothing followed then upon it. The King ordered *Steward* to write back, that he would either have all or nothing. All the Lay-Papiſts of *England*, who were not engaged in the intrigues of the Prieſts, preſſed earneſtly that the King would accept of the repeal of the penal laws, which was offered, and would have made them both eaſy and ſafe for the future. The Emperor was fully ſatisfied with what was offered, and promiſed to uſe his intereſt at *Rome*, to get the Pope to write to the King to accept of this, as a ſtep to the other: But I could not learn whether he did it, or not. If he did, it had no effect. The King was in all points governed by the Jeſuits, and the *French* Embaſſador.

Father *Petre* made a Privy Counſeller.

FATHER *Petre*, as he had been long in the confidence, was now brought to the Council board, and made a Privy Counſellor: And it was given out, that the King was reſolved to get a Cardinal's Cap for him, and to make him Archbiſhop of *York*. The Pope was ſtill firm to his reſolution againſt it. But it was hoped, that the King would conquer it, if not in the preſent, yet at furtheſt in the next Pontificate. The King reſolved at the ſame time not to diſguſt the Secular Prieſts: So Biſhop *Leyburn*, whom

whom Cardinal *Howard* had ſent over with the Epiſcopal character, was made much uſe of in appearance, tho' he had no great ſhare in the counſels. There was a faction formed between the Seculars and the Jeſuits, which was ſometimes near breaking out into an open rupture. But the King was ſo partial to the Jeſuits, that the others found they were not on equal terms with them. There were three other Biſhops conſecrated for *England*. And theſe four were ordered to make a progreſs and circuit over *England*, confirming, and doing other Epiſcopal offices, in all the parts of *England*. Great numbers gathered about them, whereſoever they went. 1688.

THE Jeſuits thought all was ſure, and that their ſcheme was ſo well laid that it could not miſcarry. And they had ſo poſſeſſed that contemptible tool of theirs, *Albeville*, with this, that he ſeemed upon his return to the *Hague* to be ſo ſanguine, that he did not ſtick to ſpeak out, what a wiſer man would have ſuppreſſed tho' he had believed it. One day, when the Prince was ſpeaking of the promiſes the King had made, and the oath that he had ſworn to maintain the laws and the eſtabliſhed Church, he, inſtead of pretending that the King ſtill kept his word, ſaid, upon ſome occaſions Princes muſt forget their promiſes. And, when the Prince ſaid, that the King ought to have more regard to the Church of *England*, which was the main body of the Nation, *Albeville* anſwered, that the body which The confidence of the Jeſuits.

1688. he called the Church of *England* would not have a being two years to an end. Thus he ſpoke out the deſigns of the Court, both too early and too openly. But at the ſame time he behaved himſelf in all other reſpects ſo poorly, that he became the jeſt of the *Hague*. The foreign Miniſters, Mr. *D'Avaux* the *French* Embaſſador not excepted, did not know how to excuſe or bear with his weakneſs, which appeared on all occaſions and in all companies.

The Penſioner's letter was printed.

WHAT he wrote to *England* upon his firſt audiences was not known. But it was ſoon after ſpread up and down the Kingdom, very artificially and with much induſtry, that the Prince and Princeſs had now conſented to the repeal of the Teſts, as well as of the penal laws This was writ over by many hands to the *Hague*. The Prince, to prevent the ill effects that might follow on ſuch reports, gave orders to print the Penſioner's letter to *Steward*; which was ſent to all the parts of *England*, and was received with an univerſal joy. The Diſſenters ſaw themſelves now ſafe in his intentions towards them. The Church party was confirmed in their zeal for maintaining the Teſts. And the Lay-Papiſts ſeemed likewiſe to be ſo well pleaſed with it, that they complained of thoſe ambitious Prieſts, and hungry Courtiers, who were reſolved, rather than lay down their aſpirings and other projects, to leave them ſtill expoſed to the ſeverities of the laws, tho' a freedom from theſe was now offered to them. But it was not eaſy to

to judge, whether this was ſincerely meant by them, or if it was only a popular art, to recommend themſelves under ſuch a moderate appearance. The Court ſaw the hurt that this letter did them. At firſt they hoped to have ſtifled it by calling it an impoſture. But when they were driven from that, the King began to ſpeak ſeverely and indecently of the Prince, not only to all about him, but even to foreign Miniſters: And reſolved to put ſuch marks of his indignation upon him, as ſhould let all the world ſee how deep it was. 1688.

THERE were ſix Regiments of the King's ſubjects, three *Engliſh* and three *Scotiſh*, in the ſervice of the States. Some of them were old Regiments, that had continued in their ſervice during the two wars in the late King's reign. Others were raiſed ſince the peace in ſeventy three. But theſe came not into their ſervice under any capitulation, that had reſerved an authority to the King to call for them at his pleaſure. When *Argile* and *Monmouth* made their invaſion, the King deſired that the States would lend them to him. Some of the towns of *Holland* were ſo jealous of the King, and wiſhed *Monmouth*'s ſucceſs ſo much, that the Prince found ſome difficulty in obtaining the conſent of the States to ſend them over. There was no diſtinction made among them between Papiſts and Proteſtants, according to a maxim of the States with relation to their armies: So there were ſeveral Papiſts in thoſe Regiments. And the King had

The King asked the Regiments of his ſubjects in the States ſervice.

1688. had ſhewed ſuch particular kindneſs to theſe, while they were in *England*, that at their return they formed a faction which was breeding great diſtractions among them. This was very uneaſy to the Prince, who began to ſee that he might have occaſion to make uſe of thoſe bodies, if things ſhould be carried to a rupture between the King and him: And yet he did not know how he could truſt them, while ſuch Officers were in command. He did not ſee neither, how he could get rid of them well. But the King helped him out of that difficulty: He wrote to the States, that he had occaſion for the ſix Regiments of his ſubjects that were in their ſervice, and deſired that they ſhould be ſent over to him.

Which was refuſed, but the Officers had leave to go.

THIS demand was made all of the ſudden, without any previous application to any of the States, to diſpoſe them to grant it, or to many of the Officers to perſuade them to ask their *Congè* to go over. The States pretended the Regiments were theirs: They had paid levy money for them, and had them under no capitulation: So they excuſed themſelves, that they could not part with them. But they gave orders, that all the Officers that ſhould ask their *Congè*, ſhould have it. Thirty or forty came and asked, and had their *Congè*. So now the Prince was delivered from ſome troubleſome men by this management of the King's. Upon that, theſe bodies were ſo modeled, that the Prince knew, that he might depend entirely on them: And he was no more diſturbed

disturbed by those insolent Officers, who had for some years behaved themselves rather as enemies, than as persons in the States pay. 1688.

THE discourse of a Parliament was often taken up, and as often let fall: And it was not easy to judge in what such fluctuating counsels would end. Father *Petre* had gained such an ascendant, that he was considered as the first Minister of State. The Nuncio had moved the King to interpose, and mediate a reconciliation between the Court of *Rome* and *France*. But he answered, that since the Pope would not gratify him in the promotion of Father *Petre*, he would leave him to free himself of the trouble into which he had involved himself the best way he could. And our Court reckoned, that as soon as the Pope felt himself pressed, he would fly to the King for protection, and grant him every thing that he asked of him in order to obtain it. That Jesuit gave daily new proofs of a weak and ill governed passion, and discovered all the ill qualities of one, that seemed raised up to be the common incendiary, and to drive the King and his party to the precipice.

A new declaration for toleration.

TOWARDS the end of *April* the King thought fit to renew the declaration, that he had set out the former year for liberty of conscience; with an addition, declaring that he would adhere firmly to it, and that he would put none in any publick employments, but such as would concur with him in maintaining

1688. taining it. He alſo promiſed, that he would hold a Parliament in the *November* following. This promiſe of a Parliament ſo long beforehand was ſomewhat extraordinary. Both Father *Petre* and *Pen* engaged the King to it, but with a different proſpect: *Pen*, and all the tools who were employed by him, had ſtill ſome hopes of carrying a Parliament to agree with the King, if too much time was not loſt: Whereas the delaying a Parliament raiſed jealouſies, as if none were intended, but that it was only talked of to amuſe the Nation till other deſigns were ripe.

ON the other hand, Father *Petre* and his cabal ſaw that the King was kept off from many things that they propoſed, with the expectation of the concurrence of a Parliament; And the fear of giving new diſguſts, which might obſtruct that, had begot a caution that was very uneaſy to them. They thought that much time was already loſt, and that they made but a ſmall progreſs. They began to apprehend, that the Regulators, who were ſtill feeding them with hopes, and were aſking more time and more money, did intend only to amuſe them, and to wear out the buſineſs into more length, and to keep themſelves the longer in credit and in pay; but that they did not in their hearts wiſh well to the main deſign, and therefore acted but an inſincere part with the King. Therefore they reſolved to put that matter to the laſt trial, reckoning that, if the King ſaw it was

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in vain to hope for any thing in a Parliamentary way, he might be more eaſily carried to extream and violent methods. 1688.

THE King was not ſatisfied with the publiſhing his declaration: But he reſolved to oblige the Clergy to read it in all their Churches in the time of divine ſervice. And now it appeared, what bad effects were like to follow on that officious motion that *Sancroft* had made, for obliging the Clergy to read the declaration that King *Charles* ſet out in the year 1681. after the diſſolution of the *Oxford* Parliament An order paſt in Council, requiring the Biſhops to ſend copies of the declaration to all their Clergy, and to order them to read it on two ſeveral *Sundays* in time of divine ſervice. Which the Clergy were ordered to read.

THIS put the Clergy under great difficulties. And they were at firſt much divided about it. Even many of the beſt and worthieſt of them were under ſome diſtraction of thought. They had many meetings, and argued the point long among themſelves, in and about *London*. On the one hand it was ſaid, that if they refuſed to read it, the King would proceed againſt them for diſobedience. It did not ſeem reaſonable to run ſo great a hazard upon ſuch a point, that was not ſtrong enough to bear the conſequences that might follow on a breach. Their reading it did not import their approving it. But was only a publication of an act of their King's. So it was propoſed, to ſave the whole by making ſome declaration, that their reading it was a meer act of obedience, and

1688. and did not import any assent and approbation of theirs. Others thought, that the publishing this in such manner was only imposed on them to make them odious and contemptible to the whole Nation, for reading that which was intended for their ruin. If they carried their compliance so far, that might provoke the Nobility and Gentry to carry theirs much further. If they once yielded the point, that they were bound to read every declaration, with this salvo that it did not import their approving it, they would be then bound to read every thing that should be sent to them: The King might make declarations in favour of all the points of Popery, and require them to read them: And they could not see where they must make their stops, if they did it not now. So it seemed necessary to fix on this, as a rule, that they ought to publish nothing in time of divine service, but that which they approved of. The point at present was not, whether a toleration was a lawful or an expedient thing. The declaration was founded on the claim of a dispensing power, which the King did now assume, that tended to the total subversion of the government, and the making it arbitrary; whereas by the constitution it was a legal administration. It also allowed such an infinite liberty, with the suspension of all penal laws, and that without any limitation, that Paganism it self might be now publickly professed. It was visible, that the design in imposing the reading of it on them, was only to make them ridiculous, and to make them contri-

contribute to their own ruin. As for the danger that they might incur, they saw their ruin was resolved on: And nothing they could do was like to prevent it, unless they would basely sacrifice their religion to their worldly interests. It would be perhaps a year sooner or later by any other management: It was therefore fit, that they should prepare themselves for suffering; and not endeavour to prevent it by doing that, which would draw on them the hatred of their friends, and the scorn of their enemies. 1688.

THESE reasons prevailed; and they resolved not to read the declaration. They saw of what importance it was, that they should be unanimous in this. Nothing could be of more fatal consequence than their being divided in their practice. For, if any considerable body of the Clergy, such as could carry the name of the Church of *England*, could have been prevailed on to give obedience, and only some number, how valuable soever the men might be, should refuse to obey, then the Court might still pretend, that they would maintain the Church of *England*, and single out all those who had not given obedience, and fall on them, and so break the Church within itself upon this point, and then destroy the one half by the means of the rest. The most eminent resolved not to obey: And those who might be prevailed on to comply would by that means fall under such contempt, that they could not have the credit or strength to support the established religion. The Court depended upon this, that

To which they would not give obedience.

1688. the greater part would obey: And ſo they would be furniſhed with a point of State, to give a colour for turning out the diſobedient, who were like to be the men that ſtood moſt in their way, and croſſed their deſigns moſt, both with their learning and credit.

THOSE few Biſhops that were engaged in the deſign of betraying the Church, were perſuaded that this would be the event of the matter: And they poſſeſſed the King with the hopes of it ſo poſitively, that he ſeemed to depend upon it. The correſpondence over *England* was managed with that ſecrecy, that theſe reſolutions were ſo communicated to the Clergy in the Country, that they were generally engaged to agree in their conduct, before the Court came to apprehend that they would be ſo unanimous, as it proved in concluſion that they were.

The Archbiſhop and ſix Biſhops petition the King.

THE Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Sancroft*, reſolved upon this occaſion to act ſuitably to his poſt and character. He wrote round his Province, and deſired that ſuch of the Biſhops as were able would come up, and conſult together in a matter of this great concern: And he asked the opinion of thoſe, whom their age and infirmities diſabled from taking the journey. He found, that eighteen of the Biſhops and the main body of the Clergy, concurred in the reſolution againſt reading the declaration. So he, with ſix of the Biſhops that came up to *London*, reſolved in a petition to the King, to lay before him the reaſons that determined them not to obey the order of Council

that

that had been ſent them: This flowed from no want of reſpect to his Majeſty's authority, nor from any unwillingneſs to let favour be ſhewed to Diſſenters; in relation to whom they were willing to come to ſuch a temper, as ſhould be thought fit, when that matter ſhould be conſidered and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation: But, this declaration being founded on ſuch a diſpenſing power, as had been often declared illegal in Parliament, both in the year 1662. & in the year 1672. & in the beginning of his own reign, and was a matter of ſo great conſequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State; they could not in prudence, honour, and conſcience, make themſelves ſo far parties to it, as the publication of it once and again in God's houſe, and in the time of divine ſervice, muſt amount to. 1688.

THE Archbiſhop was then in an ill ſtate of health. So he ſent over the ſix Biſhops with the petition to the King, ſigned by himſelf and the reſt. The King was much ſurpriſed with this, having been flattered and deceived by his ſpies. *Cartwright*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, was poſſeſſed with a ſtory that was too eaſily believed by him, and was by him carried to the King, who was very apt to believe every thing that ſuited with his own deſigns. The ſtory was, that the Biſhops intended by a petition to the King to let him underſtand that orders of this kind uſed to be addreſſed to their Chancellors, but not to themſelves; and to pray him to continue that method: And that by this means they hoped to get out of this difficulty. This was very acceptable to the

1688. Court, and procured the Biſhops a quick admittance. And they had proceeded ſo carefully that nothing concerted among them had broken out; for they had been very ſecret and cautious. The King, when he heard their petition, and ſaw his miſtake, ſpoke roughly to them. He ſaid, he was their King, and he would be obeyed: And they ſhould be made to feel what it was to diſobey him. The ſix Biſhops were St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, *Chicheſter*, and *Briſtol*. The anſwer they made the King was in theſe words: *The will of God be done.* And they came from the Court in a ſort of triumph. Now matters were brought to a criſis. The King was engaged on his part, as the Biſhops were on theirs. So all people looked on with great expectations, reckoning that upon the iſſue of this buſineſs a great deciſion would be made, both of the deſigns of the Court, and of the temper of the Nation.

THE King conſulted for ſome days with all that were now employed by him, what he ſhould do upon this emergent; and talked with people of all perſuaſions. *Lob*, an eminent man among the Diſſenters, who was entirely gained to the Court, adviſed the King to ſend the Biſhops to the Tower. Father *Petre* ſeemed now as one tranſported with joy: For he thought the King was engaged to break with the Church of *England*. And it was reported, that he broke out into that indecent expreſſion upon it, that they ſhould be made to eat their own dung. The King was long in doubt. Some of the Popiſh Nobility

bility preſſed him earneſtly to let the matter fall: For now it appeared, that the body of the Clergy were reſolved not to read the declaration. Thoſe who did obey, were few and inconſiderable. Only ſeven obeyed in the City of *London*, and not above two hundred all *England* over: And of theſe ſome read it the firſt *Sunday*, but changed their minds before the ſecond: Others declared in their ſermons, that tho' they obeyed the order, they did not approve of the declaration: And one more pleaſantly than gravely, told his people, that, tho'he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and he ſtopt till they all went out, and then he read it to the walls: In many places, as ſoon as the Miniſter began to read it, all the people roſe, and went out. 1688.

THE King did what he could to encourage thoſe that did obey his order. *Parker*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, died about this time: He wrote a book againſt the Teſts full of petulant ſcurrility, of which I ſhall only give one inſtance. He had reflected much on the whole Popiſh Plot, and on *Oates*'s evidence: And upon that he called the Teſt, the Sacrament of the *Oateſian* villainy. He treated the Parliament that enacted the Teſts with a ſcorn that no Popiſh writer had yet ventured on: And he ſaid much to excuſe tranſubſtantiation, and to free the Church of *Rome* from the charge of idolatry. This raiſed ſuch a diſguſt of him, even in thoſe that had been formerly but too much influenced by him, that, when he could not help ſeeing that, he ſunk upon

1688 it. I was desired to answer his book with the severity that he deserved: And I did it with an acrimony of stile, that nothing but such a time, and such a man, could in any sort excuse. It was said, the King sent him my papers, hearing that no body else durst put them in his hands, hoping that it would raise his indignation, and engage him to answer them. One *Hall*, a Conformist in *London*, who was looked on as half a Presbyterian, yet, because he read the declaration, was made Bishop of *Oxford*. One of the Popish Bishops was upon the King's *Mandamus* chosen by the illegal Fellows of *Magdalen*'s College their President. The sense of the Nation as well as of the Clergy, had appeared so signally on this occasion, that it was visible, that the King had not only the seven petitioning Bishops to deal with, but the body of the whole Nation, both Clergy and Laity.

The King ordered the Bishops to be prosecuted.

THE violent advices of Father *Petre*, and the Jesuite party, were so fatally suited to the King's own temper and passion, that they prevailed over the wiser counsels of almost all that were advised with. But the King, before he would bring the matter to the Council, secretly engaged all the Privy Counsellors to concur with him: And, after a fortnight's consultation, the Bishops were cited to appear before the Council. The petition was offered to them; and they were asked, if they owned it to be their petition. They answered, it seemed they were to be proceeded against upon that account; so they hoped the King would not press them to a confession, and

then

then make use of it against them: After they had offered this, they owned the petition. They were next charged with the publication of it; for it was then printed. But they absolutely denied that that was done by their means. The Archbishop had written the petition all in his own hand, without employing any person to copy it out: And tho' there was one draught written of the petition, as it was agreed on, from which he had written out the original which they had all signed, yet he had kept that still in his own possession, and had never shewn it to any person: So it was not published by them: That must have been done by some of those to whom the King had shewed it. 1688.

THEY were in the next place required to enter into bonds to appear in the Court of the King's bench, and answer to an information of misdemeanor. They excepted to this; and said, that by their Peerage they were not bound to do it. Upon their insisting on this, they were sent to the Tower, by a warrant signed by the whole board, except Father *Petre*, who was past over by the King's order. This set the whole City into the highest fermentation that was ever known in the memory of man. The Bishops were sent by water to the Tower: And all along as they past, the banks of the river were full of people, who kneeled down and asked their blessing, and with loud shouts expressed their good wishes for them, and their concern in their preservation. The soldiers, and other officers in the Tower, did the same. An

They were sent to the Tower.

1688. universal consternation appeared in all peoples looks: But the King was not moved with all this. And, tho' two days after, upon the Queen's pretended delivery, the King had a fair occasion to have granted a general pardon, to celebrate the joy of that birth, (and it was given out by those Papists that had always affected to pass for moderate men, that they had all pressed this vehemently) yet the King was inflexible; and said, his authority would become contemptible, if he suffered such an affront to pass unpunished.

A week after their commitment, they were brought upon a *Habeas Corpus* to the King's bench bar, where their Counsel offered to make it appear to be an illegal commitment: But the Court allowed it good in law. They were required to enter into bonds for small sums, to answer to the information that day fortnight.

But soon after discharged.

THE Bishops were discharged of their imprisonment: And people of all sorts ran to visit them as Confessors, one company going in as another went out. The appearance in *Westminster-Hall* was very solemn: About thirty of the Nobility accompanying them. All the streets were full of shoutings the rest of the day, and bonefires at night.

They were tried.

WHEN the day fixed for their trial came, there was a vast concourse. *Westminster-Hall*, and all the places about, were full of people, who were strangely affected with the matter. Even the Army, that was then encamped on *Honslow-Heath*, shewed such a disposition

position to mutiny, that it gave the King no small uneasiness. The trial came on, which was chiefly managed against the Bishops by Sir *William Williams*. He had been Speaker in two successive Parliaments, and was a zealous promoter of the Exclusion: And he had continued many years a bold pleader in all causes against the Court: But he was a corrupt and vicious man, who had no principles, but followed his own interests. *Sawyer* the Attorney General, who had for many years served the ends of the Court in a most abject and obsequious manner, would not support the dispensing power: So he was turned out, *Powis* being advanced to be Attorney General: And *Williams* was made Solicitor General. *Powis* acted his part in this trial as fairly as his post could admit of. But *Williams* took very indecent liberties. And he had great advantages over *Sawyer* and *Finch*, who were among the Bishops Counsel, by reflecting on the precedents and proceedings during their being the King's Counsel. The King's Counsel could not have full proof, that the Bishops hands were truly theirs, and were forced to have recourse to the confession they had made at the Council board; which was thought very dishonourable, since they had made that confession in confidence, trusting to the Kings honour, tho' it did not appear that any promise was made, that no advantage should be taken of that confession. No proof was brought of their publishing it, which was the main point. The presenting it to the King, and afterwards their owning 1688.

1688. it to be their petition, when it was put to them at the Council board, was all that the King's Counſel could offer for proof in this matter; which was an apparent ſtrain, in which even thoſe Judges, that were the ſureſt to the Court, did not ſeem to be ſatisfied. It was much urged againſt them, that this petition was a libel, tending to the defaming the King's government.

BUT to this it was anſwered, that they having received an order, to which they found they could not give obedience, thought it was incumbent on them, as Biſhops, and as ſubjects, to lay before the King their reaſons for it: All ſubjects had a right to petition the King: They as Peers were of his great Council, and ſo had yet a better claim to that: And that more particularly in matters of religion; for the act of uniformity in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time had required them under a curſe to look carefully after thoſe matters: The diſpenſing power had been often brought into debate in Parliament, and was always voted to be againſt law: and the late King had yielded the point by recalling his declaration: So they thought, they had a right to repreſent theſe things to the King. And occaſion was often taken to reflect on the diſpenſing power. To this the King's Counſel replied, that the votes of one or both Houſes were not laws, till they were enacted by King and Parliament: And the late King's paſſing once from a point of his prerogative did not give it up, but only waved it for that time: They urged much the ſacredneſs of the King's authority; that

a

a paper might be true in fact, and yet be a libel; that in Parliament the two Houſes had a right to petition, but it was ſedition to do it in a point of government out of Parliament. 1688.

THE trial did laſt long, above ten hours. The crouds continued in expectation all the while, and expreſſed ſo great a concern for the Biſhops, that the witneſſes who were brought againſt them were not only treated with much ſcorn, and loud laughter upon every occaſion, but ſeemed to be in ſuch danger, that they eſcaped narrowly, going away by a back paſſage. Two of the Judges, *Powel* and *Halloway*, delivered their opinion, that there was no ſeditious matter in the petition, and that it was no libel. *Wright* was now brought into this Court and made Chief Juſtice; and *Herbert* was made Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas: *Herbert* was with the Court in the main of the King's diſpenſing power, but was againſt them in moſt particulars: So he could not ſerve their ends in this Court. *Wright* was the properer tool. He in his charge called the petition a libel: But he did not think the publication was proved.

THE Jury was fairly returned. When they were ſhut up, they were ſoon agreed upon their verdict, to acquit the Biſhops. But it was thought to be both the more ſolemn, and the ſafer way, to continue ſhut up till the morning. The King ſtill flattered himſelf with the hope that the Biſhops would be brought in guilty. He went that morning to the camp: And acquitted.

For

1688. For the ill humour the Army was in the day before, made him think it neceſſary to go and keep them in awe and order by his own preſence.

To the great joy of the Town and Nation.

THE Court ſat again next day: And then the Jury came in with their verdict. Upon which there were ſuch ſhoutings, ſo long continued, and as it were echoed into the City, that all people were ſtruck with it. Every man ſeemed tranſported with joy. Bonefires were made all about the ſtreets. And the news going over the Nation, produced the like rejoycings and bonefires all *England* over. The King's preſence kept the Army in ſome order. But he was no ſooner gone out of the camp, than he was followed with an univerſal ſhouting, as if it had been a victory obtained. And ſo fatally was the King puſhed on to his ruin, that he ſeemed not to be by all this enough convinced of the folly of thoſe violent counſels. He intended ſtill to purſue them. It was therefore reſolved on, to bring this matter of the contempt of the order of Council in not reading the declaration, before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. They did not think fit to cite the Archbiſhop and Biſhops before them: For they did not doubt they would plead to their juriſdiction, and refuſe to acknowledge their authority: which they hoped their Chancellors, and the inferior Clergy, would not venture on.

The Clergy was next

CITATIONS were ſent out requiring the Chancellors, and Archdeacons to ſend in the liſts of all the Clergy, both of ſuch as had obeyed,

obeyed, and of those who had not obeyed the order of Council. Some of these were now so much animated with the sense that the Nation had expressed of the Bishop's imprisonment and trial, that they declared they would not obey this order: And others excused themselves in softer terms. When the day came to which they were cited, the Bishop of *Rochester*, tho' he himself had obeyed the order, and had hitherto gone along, sitting with the other Commissioners, but had always voted on the milder side, yet now, when he saw matters were running so fast to the ruin of the Church, he not only would sit no longer with them, but wrote a letter to them, in which he said, it was impossible for him to go on with them any longer; for tho' he himself had obeyed the order of Council, which he protested he did because he thought he was bound in conscience to do it, yet he did not doubt but that those who had not obeyed it had gone upon the same principle of following their conscience, and he would much rather choose to suffer with them than to concur in making them suffer. This stopped proceedings for that day, and put the Court to a stand. So they adjourned themselves till *December*: And they never sat any more. 1688. designed against.

THIS was the progress of that transaction, which was considered all *Europe* over as the trial whether the King or the Church were like to prevail. The decision was as favourable as was possible. The King did assume to himself a power to make laws void, and to qualify men for employments, whom The effect this had every where.

1688. whom the law had put under ſuch incapacities that all they did was null and void. The Sheriffs and Mayors of towns were no legal Officers: Judges, (one of them being a profeſſed Papiſt, *Alibon*,) who took not the Teſt, were no Judges: So that the government, and the legal adminiſtration of it, was broken. A Parliament returned by ſuch men was no legal Parliament. All this was done by vertue of the diſpenſing power, which changed the whole frame of our government, and ſubjected all the laws to the King's pleaſure: For, upon the ſame pretence of that power, other declarations might have come out voiding any other laws that the Court found ſtood in their way; ſince we had ſcarce any law that was fortified with ſuch clauſes to force the execution of it, as thoſe that were laid aſide had in them. And when the King pretended, that this was ſuch a ſacred point of government, that a petition, offered in the modeſteſt terms, and in the humbleſt manner poſſible, calling it in queſtion, was made ſo great a crime, and carried ſo far againſt men of ſuch eminence; this I confeſs ſatisfied me, that here was a total deſtruction of our conſtitution, avowedly begun, and violently proſecuted. Here was not jealouſies nor fears: The thing was open and avowed. This was not a ſingle act of illegal violence, but a declared deſign againſt the whole of our conſtitution. It was not only the judgment of a Court of law: The King had now by two publick acts of ſtate, renewed in two ſucceſſive years, openly publiſhed his deſign.

This

This appeared such a total subversion, that, according to the principles that some of the highest assertors of submission and obedience, *Barclay* and *Grotius*, had laid down, it was now lawful for the Nation to look to itself, and see to its own preservation. And, as soon as any man was convinced that this was lawful, there remained nothing but to look to the Prince of *Orange*, who was the only person that either could save them, or had a right to it: Since by all the laws in the world, even private as well as publick, he that has in him the reversion of any estate, has a right to hinder the possessor, if he goes about to destroy that which is to come to him after the possessor's death. 1688.

Russel pressed the Prince.

UPON all this disorder that *England* was falling into, Admiral *Russel* came to the *Hague*. He had a good pretence for coming over to *Holland*, for he had a sister then living in it. He was desired by many of great power and interest in *England* to speak very freely to the Prince, and to know positively of him what might be expected from him. All people were now in a gaze: Those who had little or no religion had no mind to turn Papists, if they could see any probable way of resisting the fury with which the Court was now driving: But men of fortune, if they saw no visible prospect, would be governed by their present interest. They were at present united: But, if a breaking should once happen, and some men of figure should be prevailed on to change, that might go far; especially in a corrupt and disso-

1688. dissolute Army, that was as it were let loose to commit crimes & violences every where, in which they were rather encouraged than punished; for it seemed to be set up as a maxim, that the Army by rendring it self odious to the Nation would become thereby entirely devoted to the Court: But after all, tho' soldiers were bad *Englishmen* and worse Christians, yet the Court found them too good Protestants to trust much to them. So *Russel* put the Prince to explain himself what he intended to do.

The Prince's answer

THE Prince answered, that, if he was invited by some men of the best interest, and the most valued in the Nation, who should both in their own name, and in the name of others who trusted them, invite him to come and rescue the Nation and the Religion, he believed he could be ready by the end of *September* to come over. The main confidence we had was in the Electoral Prince of *Brandenburg*; for the old Elector was then dying: And I told *Russel* at parting, that, unless he died, there would be great difficulties, not easily mastered, in the design of the Prince's expedition to *England*.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s death.

HE was then ill of a dropsy, which, coming after a gout of a long continuance, seemed to threaten a speedy end of his life. I had the honour to see him at *Cleve*; and was admitted to two long audiences, in which he was pleased to speak to me with great freedom. He was a Prince of great courage. He both understood military matters well, and loved them much. He had a very perfect

perfect view of the ſtate *Europe* had been in for fifty years, in which he had born a great ſhare in all affairs, having directed his own counſels himſelf. He had a wonderful memory, even in the ſmalleſt matters; for every thing paſt under his eye. He had a quick apprehenſion, and a cholerick temper. The heat of his ſpirits was apt to kindle too quick, till his intereſt cooled him: And that fetched him back, which brought him under the cenſure of changing ſides too ſoon and too often. He was a very zealous man in all the concerns of religion. His own life was regular and free of all blemiſhes. He tried all that was poſſible to bring the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* to ſome terms of reconciliation. He complained much of the rigidity of the *Lutherans*, more particularly of thoſe in *Pruſſia*: Nor was he well pleaſed with the ſtiffneſs of the *Calviniſts*: And he inveighed againſt the Synod of *Dort*, as that which had ſet all on fire, and made matters almoſt paſt reconciling: He thought all poſitive deciſions in thoſe matters ought to be laid aſide by both parties, without which nothing could bring them to a better temper. 1683.

HE had a very ſplendid Court: And to maintain that, and his great armies, his ſubjects were preſſed hard by many uneaſy taxes. He ſeemed not to have a juſt ſenſe of the miſeries of his people. His Miniſters had great power over him in all leſſer matters; while he directed the greater: And he ſuffered them to enrich themſelves exceſſively.

IN the end of his life the Electoreſs had

1688. gained great credit, and governed his counsels too much. He had set it up for a maxim, that the Electoral families in *Germany* had weakned themselves so much, that they would not be able to maintain the liberty of the Empire against the *Austrian* Family, which was now rising by their victories in *Hungary*: The Houses of *Saxe*, and the *Palatine*, and of *Brunswick*, and *Hesse*, had done this so much, by the dismembring some of their dominions to their younger children, that they were mouldring to nothing: He therefore resolved to keep all his dominions entire in one hand: This would make his Family the balance to the House of *Austria*, on whom the rest of the Empire must depend: And he suffered his Electoress to provide for her children, and to enrich herself by all the ways she could think on, since he would not give them any share of his dominions. This she did not fail to do. And the Elector, having just cause of complaint for being abandoned by the Allies in the peace of *Nimeguen*, and so forced to restore what he had got from the *Swedes*, the *French* upon that gave him a great pension, and made the Electoress such presents, that he was prevailed on to enter into their interests: And in this he made some ill steps in the decline of his life. But nothing could soften him with relation to that Court, after they broke the edict of *Nantes*, and began the persecution of the Protestants. He took great care of all the Refugees. He set men on the frontier of *France* to receive and defray them; and gave them all the marks of

of Christian compassion, and of a bounty becoming so great a Prince. But his age and infirmities, he being crippled with the gout, and the ill understanding that was between the Prince Electoral and the Electoress, had so disjointed his Court, that little was to be expected from him. 1688.

DEATH came upon him quicker than was looked for. He received the intimations of it with the firmness that became both a Christian and a Hero. He gave his last advices to his son, and to his Ministers, with a greatness and a tenderness that both surprised and melted them all: And above all other things he recommended to them the concerns of the Protestant Religion, then in such an universal danger. His son had not his genius. He had not a strength of body nor a force of mind capable of great matters. But he was filled with zeal for the Reformed Religion: And he was at that time so entirely possessed with a confidence in the Prince of *Orange*, and with a high esteem of him, as he was his cousin german, that we had a much better prospect of all our affairs by his succeeding his father. And this was encreased by the great credit that *Dankelman*, who had been his Governor, continued to have with him: For he had true notions of the affairs of *Europe*, and was a zealous protestant, and was like to prove a very good Minister, tho' he was too absolute in his favour, and was too much set on raising his own family. All at the *Hague* were looking with great concern on the affairs of *Europe*; these being, in many

1688. respects and in many different places, brought to a very critical state.

The Queen gave out that she was with child.

I must now look back to *England*, where the Queen's delivery was the subject of all men's discourse. And since so much depends on this, I will give as full and as distinct an account of all that related to that matter, as I could gather up either at that time or afterwards. The Queen had been for six or seven years in such an ill state of health, that every winter brought her very near death. Those about her seemed well assured that she, who had buried all her children soon after they were born, and had now for several years ceased bearing, would have no more children. Her own Priests apprehended it, and seemed to wish for her death. She had great and frequent distempers, that returned often, which put all people out of their hopes or fears of her having any children. Her spirits were now much on the fret. She was eager in the prosecution of all the King's designs. It was believed, that she had a main hand in driving him to them all. And he, perhaps to make her gentler to him in his vagrant amours, was more easy to her in every thing else. The Lady *Dorchester* was come back from *Ireland*: And the King went oft to her. But it was visible, she was not like to gain that credit in affairs, to which she had aspired: And therefore this was less considered.

SHE had another mortification, when *Fitz-James* the King's son was made Duke of *Berwick*. He was a soft and harmless young man, and was much beloved by the King:

But

But the Queen's diſlike kept him from making any great figure. He made two campaigns in *Hungary*, that were little to his honour: For, his Governor diverted the allowance that was given for keeping a table, ſending him always to eat at other tables, and tho' in the ſiege of *Buda* there were many occaſions given him to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf, yet he had appeared in none of them. There was more care taken of his perſon, than became his age and condition. Yet his Governor's brother was a Jeſuit, and in the ſecret: So every thing was ventured on by him, and all was forgiven him. 1688.

IN *September*, the former year, the Queen went to the *Bath*, where, as was already told, the King came and ſaw her, and ſtaid a few days with her. She after that purſued a full courſe of bathing: And, having reſolved to return in the end of *September*, an accident took her to which the ſex is ſubject: And that made her ſtay there a week longer. She came to *Windſor* on the ſixth of *October*. It was ſaid, that, at the very time of her coming to the King, her mother, the Ducheſs of *Modena*, made a vow to the Lady of *Loretto*, that her daughter might by her means have a ſon. And it went current, that the Queen believed herſelf to be with child in that very inſtant, in which her mother made her vow: Of which, ſome travellers have aſſured me, there was a ſolemn record made at *Loretto*. A conception ſaid to be thus begun looked ſuſpicious. It was now fixed to the ſixth of

1688. *October*: So the nine moths were to run to the ſixth of *July*. She was in the progreſs of her big belly let blood ſeveral times: And the moſt aſtringent things that could be propoſed were uſed.

IT was ſoon obſerved, that all things about her perſon were managed with a myſterious ſecrecy, into which none were admitted but a few Papiſts. She was not dreſſed nor undreſſed with the uſual ceremony. Prince *George* told me, that the Princeſs went as far in deſiring to be ſatisfied by feeling the motion, after ſhe ſaid ſhe was quick, as ſhe could go without breaking with her: And ſhe had ſometimes ſtaid by her even indecently long in mornings, to ſee her riſe, and to give her her ſhift: But ſhe never did either. She never offered any ſatisfaction in that matter by letter to the Princeſs of *Orange*, nor to any of the Ladies of quality, in whoſe word the world would have acquieſced. The thing upon this began to be ſuſpected: And ſome libels were writ, treating the whole as an impoſture. The uſe the Queen made of this was to ſay, that ſince ſhe ſaw ſome were ſuſpecting her as capable of ſo black a contrivance, ſhe ſcorned to ſatisfy thoſe who could entertain ſuch thoughts of her. How juſt ſoever this might be with relation to the libellers, yet certainly, if ſhe was truly with child, ſhe owed it to the King and herſelf, to the King's daughters, but moſt of all to the infant ſhe carried in her belly, to give ſuch reaſonable ſatisfaction, as might put an

end

end to jealouſy. This was in her power to do every day: And her not doing it gave juſt grounds of ſuſpicion. 1688.

THINGS went thus on till *Monday* in *Eaſter* week. On that day the King went to *Rocheſter*, to ſee ſome of the naval preparations; but was ſoon ſent for by the Queen, who apprehended ſhe was in danger of miſcarrying. Dr. *Scarborough* was come to *Knightsbridge* to ſee Biſhop *Ward*, my predeceſſor, who had been his antient friend, and was then his patient: But the Queen's coach was ſent to call him in all haſte, ſince ſhe was near miſcarrying. Dr. *Windebank*, who knew nothing of this matter, ſtaid long that morning upon an appointment for Dr. *Wallgrave*, another of the Queen's phyſicians, who the next time he ſaw him excuſed himſelf, for the Queen, he ſaid, was then under the moſt apparent ſigns of miſcarrying. Of this the Doctor made oath: And it is yet extant.

ON the ſame day the Counteſs of *Clarendon*, being to go out of town for a few days, came to ſee the Queen before ſhe went, knowing nothing of what had happen'd to her. And ſhe, being a Lady of the Bed-chamber to Queen *Dowager*, did, according to the rule of the Court, go into the Queen's Bed-chamber without asking admittance. She ſaw the Queen a bed, bemoaning herſelf in a moſt doleful manner, ſaying often, *Undone*, *Undone*: And one that belonged to her carried ſomewhat out of the bed, which ſhe believed was linen taken from the Queen. She was

1688. upon this in ſome confuſion: And the Counteſs of *Powis* coming in, went to her, and ſaid with ſome ſharpneſs, What do you here? And carried her to the door. Before ſhe had got out of the Court, one of the Bed-chamber women followed her, and charged her not to ſpeak of any thing ſhe had ſeen that day. This matter, whatever was in it, was huſhed up: And the Queen held on her courſe.

THE Princeſs had miſcarried in the ſpring. So, as ſoon as ſhe had recovered her ſtrength, the King preſſed her to go the *Bath*, ſince that had ſo good an effect on the Queen. Some of her phyſicians, & all her other friends, were againſt her going. *Lower*, one of her phyſicians told me, he was againſt it: He thought, ſhe was not ſtrong enough for the *Bath*, tho' the King preſſed it with an unuſual vehemence. *Millington*, another phyſician, told the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, from whom I had it, that he was preſſed to go to the Princeſs, and adviſe her to go to the *Bath*. The perſon that ſpoke to him told him, the King was much ſet on it, and that he expected it of him, that he would perſuade her to it. *Millington* anſwered, he would not adviſe a patient according to direction but to his own reaſon: So he would not go. *Scarborough* and *Whitherly* took it upon them to adviſe it: So ſhe went thither in the end of *May*.

The Queen's reckoning changed.

AS ſoon as ſhe was gone, thoſe about the Queen did all of the ſudden change her reckoning, and began it from the King's being with her at *Bath*. This came on ſo quick, that, tho' the Queen had ſet the fourteenth of

June

June for her going to *Windsor*, where she intended to lie in, and all the preparations for the birth and for the child were ordered to be made ready by the end of *June*, yet now a resolution was taken for the Queen's lying in at St. *James's*; and directions were given to have all things quickly ready. The *Bath* water either did not agree with the Princess: Or the advices of her friends were so pressing, who thought her absence from the Court at that time of such consequence, that in compliance with them she gave it out it did not, and that therefore she would return in a few days. 1688.

The day after the Court had this notice, the Queen said, she would go to St. *James's*, and look for the good hour. She was often told, that it was impossible upon so short a warning to have things ready. But she was so positive, that she said, she would lie there that night, tho' she should lie upon the boards. And at night, tho' the shorter and quicker way was to go from *Witehall* to St. *James's* thro' the Park, and she always went that way, yet now, by a sort of affectation, she would be carried thither by *Charing-Cross* thro' the *Pall-Mall*. And it was given out by all her train, that she was going to be delivered. Some said, it would be next morning: And the Priests said very confidently, that it would be a boy.

THE next morning, about nine a clock, she sent word to the King, that she was in labour. The Quen *Dowager* was next sent to. But no Ladies were sent for: So that

The Queen said to be in labour.

1688. no women were in the room, but two dreſſers and one under dreſſer, and the midwife. The Earl of *Arran* ſent notice to the Counteſs of *Sunderland*: So ſhe came. The Lady *Bellaſis* came alſo in time. The Proteſtant Ladies that belonged to the Court were all gone to Church before the news was let go abroad: For it happen'd on *Trinity Sunday*, it being that year on the tenth of *June*. The King brought over with him from *Whitehall* a great may Peers and Privy Counſellors. And of theſe eighteen were let into the Bed-chamber: But they ſtood at the furtheſt end of the room. The Ladies ſtood within the alcove. The curtains of the bed were drawn cloſe, and none came within them, but the midwife, and an under dreſſer. The Queen lay all the while a bed: And, in order to the warming one ſide of it, a warming pan was brought. But it was not opened, that it might be ſeen that there was fire and nothing elſe in it: So here was matter for ſuſpicion, with which all people were filled.

And delivered of a ſon.

A little before ten, the Queen cried out as in a ſtrong pain, and immediately after the midwife ſaid aloud, ſhe was happily brought to bed. When the Lords all cried out of what, the midwife anſwered, the Queen muſt not be ſurpriſed: Only ſhe gave a ſign to the Counteſs of *Sunderland*, who upon that touched her forehead, by which, it being the ſign before agreed on, the King ſaid he knew it was a boy. No cries were heard from the child: Nor was it ſhewed to thoſe in the room. It was pretended, more air was neceſſary.

The

The under dreſſer went out with the child, or ſomewhat elſe, in her arms to a dreſſing room, to which there was a door near the Queen's bed: But there was another entry to it from other apartments. 1688.

THE King continued with the Lords in the Bed-chamber for ſome minutes, which was either a ſign of much phlegm upon ſuch an occaſion; for it was not known whether the child was alive or dead: Or it looked like the giving time for ſome management. After a little while they went all into the dreſſing room: And then the news was publiſhed. In the mean while, no body was called to lay their hands on the Queen's belly, in order to a full ſatisfaction. When the Princeſs came to town three days after, ſhe had as little ſatisfaction given her. *Chamberlain*, the man midwife, who was always ordered to attend her labour before, and who brought the plaiſters for putting back the milk, wondered that he had not been ſent to. He went according to cuſtom with the plaiſters: But he was told they had no occaſion for him. He fancied, that ſome other perſon was put in his place: But he could not find that any had it. All that concerned the milk, or the Queen's purgations, was managed ſtill in the dark. This made all people inclined more and more to believe, there was a baſe impoſture now put on the Nation. That ſtill increaſed. That night one *Hemings*, a very worthy man, an Apothecary by his trade, who lived in St. *Martins's Lane*, the very next door to a family of an eminent Papiſt

Great grounds of jealouſy appeared.

1688 piſt (*Brown*, brother to the Viſcount *Montacute*, lived there:) The wall between his parlour and theirs being ſo thin, that he could eaſily hear any thing that was ſaid with a louder voice, he (*Hemings*) was reading in his parlour late at night, when he heard one come into the neighbouring parlour, and ſay with a doleful voice, the Prince of *Wales* is dead; Upon which a great many that lived in the houſe came down ſtairs very quick. Upon this confuſion he could not hear any thing more; but it was plain, they were in a great conſternation. He went with the news next morning to the Biſhops in the Tower. The Counteſs of *Clarendon* came thither ſoon after, and told them, ſhe had been at the young Prince's door, but was denied acceſs: She was amazed at it; and asked, if they knew her: They ſaid; they did; but that the Queen had ordered, that no perſon whatſoever ſhould be ſuffered to come in to him. This gave credit to *Heming*'s ſtory, and looked as if all was ordered to be kept ſhut up cloſe, till another child was found. One, that ſaw the child two days after, ſaid to me, that he looked ſtrong, and not like a child ſo newly born. *Windebank* met *Walgrave* the day after this birth, and remembred him of what he had told him eight weeks before. He acknowledged what he had ſaid, but added, that God wrought miracles: To which no reply could, or durſt be made by the other: It needed none. So healthy a child being ſo little like any of thoſe the Queen had born, it was given out, that he had fits, and could

not

not live. But those who saw him every day observed no such thing. On the contrary the child was in a very prosperous state. None of those fits ever happen'd, when the Princess was at Court; for she could not be denied admittance, tho' all others were. So this was believed to be given out to make the matter more credible. It is true, some weeks after that, the Court being gone to *Windsor*, and the child sent to *Richmond*; he fell into such fits, that four physicians were sent for. They all looked on him as a dying child. The King and Queen were sent for. The physicians went to a dinner prepared for them; and were often wondring that they were not called for. They took it for granted, that the child was dead. But, when they went in after dinner to look on him, they saw a sound healthy child, that seemed to have had no sort of illness on him. It was said, that the child was strangely revived of a sudden. Some of the physicians told *Lloyd*, Bishop of St. *Asaph*, that it was not possible for them to think it was the same child. They looked on one another, but durst not speak what they thought. 1688.

The child, as was believed, died, and another was put in his room.

THUS I have related such particulars as I could gather of this birth: To which some more shall be added, when I give an account of the proof that the King brought afterwards to put this matter out of doubt; but by which it became indeed more doubtful than ever. I took most of these from the informations that were sent over to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, as I had many from the vouchers them-

1688. themſelves. I do not mix with theſe the various reports that were, both then and afterwards, ſpread of this matter, of which Biſhop *Lloyd* has a great collection, moſt of them well atteſted. What truth ſoever may be in theſe, this is certain, that the method in which this matter was conducted from firſt to laſt was very unaccountable. If an impoſture had been intended, it could not have been otherwiſe managed. The pretended excuſe that the Queen made, that ſhe owed no ſatisfaction to thoſe who could ſuſpect her capable of ſuch baſe forgery, was the only excuſe that ſhe could have made, if it had been really what it was commonly ſaid to be. She ſeemed to be ſoon recovered, and was ſo little altered by her labour, either in her looks or voice, that this helped not a little to encreaſe jealouſies. The rejoycings over *England* upon this birth were very cold and forced. Bonefires were made in ſome places, and a ſet of congratulatory addreſſes went round the Nation. None durſt oppoſe them. But all was formal, and only to make a ſhew.

The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſent to congratulate.

THE Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* received the news of this birth very decently. The firſt letters gave not thoſe grounds of ſuſpicion that were ſent to them afterwards. So they ſent over *Zuyleſtein* to congratulate: And the Princeſs ordered the Prince of *Wales* to be prayed for in her Chapel. Upon this occaſion, it may not be improper to ſet down what the Princeſs ſaid to my ſelf on this ſubject two years before. I had asked her, in the

the freedom of much diſcourſe, if ſhe knew the temper of her own mind, and how ſhe could bear the Queen's having a ſon. She ſaid, ſhe was ſure it would give her no concern at all on her own account: God knew beſt what was fit for her: And, if it was not to ſerve the great ends of providence, ſhe was ſure that, as to her ſelf, ſhe would rather wiſh to live and die in the condition ſhe was then in. The advertiſements formerly mentioned came over from ſo many hands, that it was impoſſible not to be ſhaken by them. It was alſo taken ill in *England*, that the Princeſs ſhould have begun ſo early to pray for the pretended Prince: Upon which the naming him diſcontinued. But this was ſo highly reſented by the Court of *England*, that the Prince, fearing it might precipitate a rupture, ordered him to be again named in the prayers. 1688.

The Prince deſigns an expedition to *England*.

THE Prince ſet himſelf with great application to prepare for the intended expedition: For *Zuyleſtein* brought him ſuch poſitive advices, and ſuch an aſſurance of the invitation he had deſired, that he was fully fixed in his purpoſe. It was adviſed from *England*, that the Prince could never hope for a more favourable conjuncture, nor for better grounds to break on, than he had at that time. The whole Nation was in a high fermentation. The proceedings againſt the Biſhops, and thoſe that were ſtill kept on foot againſt the Clergy, made all people think the ruin of the Church was reſolved on, and that on the firſt occaſion it would be executed, and that the Religi-

1688. Religion would be altered. The pretended birth made them reckon that Popery and Slavery would be entailed on the Nation. And, if this heat went off, people would loſe heart. It was alſo viſible, that the Army continued well affected. They ſpoke openly againſt Popery: They drank the moſt reproachful healths againſt them that could be invented, and treated the few Papiſts that were among them with ſcorn and averſion. The King ſaw this ſo viſibly, that he broke up the camp, and ſent them to their quarters: And it was believed, that he would bring them no more together, till they were modelled more to his mind. The ſeamen ſhewed the ſame inclinations. The *Dutch* had ſet out a fleet of twenty four men of war, on pretence to ſecure their trade: So the King reſolved to ſet out as ſtrong a fleet. *Strickland*, who was a Papiſt, had the command. He brought ſome Prieſts aboard with him, who ſaid Maſs, or at leaſt performed ſuch offices of their Religion as are allowed on ſhips of war: And the Chaplain, that was to ſerve the Proteſtants in *Strickland*'s ſhip, was ſent away upon a ſlight pretence. This put the whole Fleet into ſuch a diſorder, that it was like to end in a mutiny. *Strickland* puniſhed ſome for this: And the King came down to accommodate the matter. He ſpoke very ſoftly to the ſeamen: Yet this made no great impreſſion: For they hated Popery in general, and *Strickland* in particular. When ſome gained perſons among the ſeamen tried their affections to the *Dutch*, it appeared they had no incli-

inclinations to make war on them. They said aloud, they were their friends and their brethren; but they would very willingly go againſt the *French*. The King ſaw all this, and was reſolved to take other more moderate meaſures. 1688.

THESE advices were ſuggeſted by the Earl of *Sunderland*, who ſaw the King was running violently to his own ruin. So, as ſoon as the Queen admitted men to audiences, he had ſome very long ones of her. He repreſented to her, that the ſtate of her affairs was quite changed by her having a ſon. There was no need of driving things faſt, now they had a ſucceſſion ſure: Time would bring all about, if matters were but ſoftly managed. He told her, it would become her to ſet up for the author of gentle counſels, that ſhe might by another adminiſtration lay the flame that was now kindled. By this ſhe would gain the hearts of the Nation, both to her ſelf and to her ſon: She might be declared Regent, in caſe the King ſhould die before her ſon came to be of age. He found theſe advices began to be hearkned to. But, that he might have the more credit in preſſing them, he, who had but too ſlight notions of religion, reſolved to declare himſelf a Papiſt. And then, he being in the ſame intereſt with her, and moſt violently hated for this ill ſtep he had made, he gained ſuch an aſcendant over her ſpirit, that things were like to be put in another management. *Sunderland* adviſed more moderate proceedings.

HE made the ſtep to Popery all of the ſudden, without any previous inſtruction or con- And turned Papiſt.

1688. ference: So that the change he made looked too like a man who, having no religion, took up one, rather to ſerve a turn, than that he was truly changed from one religion to another. He has been ſince accuſed, as if he had done all this to gain the more credit, that ſo he might the more effectually ruin the King. There was a ſuſpicion of another nature, that ſtuck with ſome in *England*, who thought that Mr. *Sidney*, who had the ſecret of all the correſpondence that was between the Prince and his party in *England*, being in particular friendſhip with the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Earl had got into that ſecret: And they fancied he would get into the Prince's confidence by *Sidney*'s means. So I was writ to, and deſired to put it home to the Prince, whether he was in any confidence or correſpondence with the Earl of *Sunderland*, or not? For, till they were ſatisfied in that matter, they would not go on; ſince they believed he would betray all, when things were ripe for it, and that many were engaged in the deſign. The Prince upon that did ſay very poſitively, that he was in no ſort of correſpondence with him. His counſels lay then another way. And, if time had been given him to follow the ſcheme then laid down by him, things might have turned fatally: And the Nation might have been ſo laid aſleep with new promiſes, and a different conduct, that in a ſlow method they might have gained that, which they were ſo near loſing by the violent proceedings in which they had gone ſo far.

The Judges had orders in their circuits to pro-

proceed very gently, and to give new promiſes in the King's name. But they were treated every where with ſuch contempt, that the common decencies were ſcarce paid them, when they were on the bench. And they now ſaw that the preſentments of Grand Juries, and the verdicts of other Juries, were no more under their direction. Things ſlept in *England*, as is uſual, during the long vacation. But the Court had little quiet, having every day freſh alarms from abroad, as well as great mortifications at home. 1688.

The Prince of *Orange* treats with ſome Princes of the Empire.

I muſt now change the ſcene, and give a large account of the affairs abroad, they having ſuch a connection with all that followed in *England*. Upon the Elector of *Brandenburg*'s death, the Prince ſent Mr. *Bentink* with the compliment to the new Elector: And he was ordered to lay before him the ſtate of affairs, and to communicate the Prince's deſign to him, and to ask him, how much he might depend upon him for his aſſiſtance. The anſwer was full and frank. He offered all that was asked, and more. The Prince reſolved to carry over to *England* an Army of nine thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe and dragoons. He intended to chooſe theſe out of the whole *Dutch* Army. But for the ſecurity of the States, under ſuch a diminution of their force, it was neceſſary to have a ſtrength from ſome other Princes. This was ſoon concerted between the Prince and the new Elector, with the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Duke of *Lunenburg* and *Zell*, who had a particular affection to the Prince, and

1688. was a cordial friend to him on all occasions.

HIS brother, the Duke of *Hannover*, was at that time in ſome engagements with the Court of *France*. But, ſince he had married the Princeſs *Sophia* of the *Palatine* Houſe, I ventured to ſend a meſſage to her by one of their Court, who was then at the *Hague*. He was a *French* Refugee, named Mr. *Boncour*. It was to acquaint her with our deſign with relation to *England*, and to let her know, that, if we ſucceeded, certainly a perpetual exclusion of all Papiſts from the ſucceſſion to the Crown would be enacted: And, ſince ſhe was the next Proteſtant heir after the two Princeſſes, and the Prince of *Orange*, of whom at that time there was no iſſue alive, I was very confident, that, if the Duke of *Hannover* could be diſengaged from the intereſts of *France*, ſo that he came into our intereſts, the ſucceſſion to the Crown would be lodged in her perſon, and in her poſterity: tho' on the other hand, if he continued, as he ſtood then, engaged with *France*, I could not anſwer for this. The Gentleman carried the meſſage, and delivered it. The Ducheſs entertained it with much warmth: And brought him to the Duke to repeat it to him. But at that time this made no great impreſſion on him. He looked on it as a remote and a doubtful project. Yet when he ſaw our ſucceſs in *England*, he had other thoughts of it. Some days after this *Frenchman* was gone, I told the Prince what I had done. He approved of it heartily: But

was

was particularly glad, that I had done it, as of my ſelf, without communicating it to him, or any way engaging him in it: For he ſaid, if it ſhould happen to be known that the propoſition was made by him, it might do us hurt in *England*, as if he had already reckoned himſelf ſo far maſter, as to be forming projects concerning the ſucceſſion to the Crown. 1688.

The affairs of *Colen*.

BUT while this was in a ſecret management, the Elector of *Colen*'s death came in very luckily to give a good colour to intrigues and preparations. The old Elector was brother to *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*. He had been long Biſhop, both of *Colen* and *Liege*: He was alſo elected Biſhop of *Munſter*: But the Pope would never grant his Bulls for that See: But he had the temporalties, and that was all he thought on. He had thus a revenue of near four millions of Guilders, and four great Biſhopricks; for he was likewiſe Biſhop of *Hildeſheim*. He could arm and pay twenty thouſand men, beſides that his dominions lay quite round the *Netherlands*. *Munſter* lay between them and the Northern parts of *Germany*; and from thence their beſt recruits came. *Colen* commanded twenty leagues of the *Rhine*; by which, as an entrance was opened into *Holland*, which they had felt ſeverely in the year 1672, ſo the *Spaniſh Netherlands* were entirely cut off from all aſſiſtance that might be ſent them out of *Germany*: And *Liege* was a country full both of people and wealth, by which an entrance is open into *Brabant*: And

1688. if *Maſtrecht* was taken, the *Maeſe* was open down to *Holland*. So it was of great importance to the States to take care who ſhould ſucceed him. The old man was a weak Prince, much ſet on chymical proceſſes, in hopes of the Philoſopher's ſtone. He had taken one of the Princes of *Furſtenberg* into his particular confidence, and was entirely governed by him. He made him one of the Canons of *Colen*: And he came to be Dean at laſt. He made him not only his chief Miniſter, but left the nomination of the Canons that were preferred by him wholly to his choice. The Biſhop, and the Dean and Chapter, name thoſe by turns. So, what by thoſe the Elector named on his motion, what by thoſe he got to be choſen, he reckoned he was ſure of ſucceeding the Elector: And nothing but ill management could have prevented it. He had no hopes of ſucceeding at *Munſter*. But he had taken much pains to ſecure *Liege*.

Cardinal *Furſtenberg*.

I need not enlarge further on this ſtory, than to remember that he got the Elector to deliver his Country up to the *French* in the year 1672, and that the treaty opened at *Colen* was broken up on his being ſeized by the Emperor's order. After he was ſet at liberty, he was, upon the recommendation of the Court of *France*, made a Cardinal, tho' with much difficulty. In the former winter, the Emperor had been prevailed on by the *Palatine* Family to conſent to the election of a Coadjutor in *Colen*. But this was an artifice of the Cardinal's, who deceived that family

family into the hopes of carrying the election for one of their branches. And they obtained the Emperor's consent to it, without which it could not be done. But so ill grounded were the *Palatine*'s hopes, that of twenty five voices the Cardinal had nineteen, and they had only six. 1688.

THE contest at *Rome* about the Franchises had now occasioned such a rupture there, that *France* and *Rome* seemed to be in a state of war. The Count *Lavardin* was sent Embassador to *Rome*. But the Pope refused to receive him, unless he would renounce the pretension to the Franchises. So he enter'd *Rome* in a hostile manner, with some troops of horse, tho' not in form of troops: But the force was too great for the Pope. He kept guards about his house, and in the Franchises, and affronted the Pope's authority on all occasions. The Pope bore all silently; but would never admit him to an audience, nor receive any message nor intercession from the Court of *France*; and kept off every thing, in which they concerned themselves: And therefore he would not confirm the election of a Coadjutor to *Colen*. So, that not being done when the Elector died, the Canons were to proceed to a new election, the former being void, because not confirmed: For if it had been confirmed, there would have been no vacancy. Contests between France & Rome.

THE cabal against the Cardinal grew so strong, that he began to apprehend he might lose it, if he had not leave from the Pope to resign the Bishoprick of *Strasburg*, which the

1688. *French* had forced him to accept, only to leſſen the penſion that they paid him by giving him that Biſhoprick. By the rules of the Empire, a man that is already a Biſhop, cannot be choſen to another See, but by a poſtulation: And to that it is neceſſary to have a concurrence of two thirds of the Chapter. But it was at the Pope's choice, whether he would accept of the reſignation of *Strasburg*, or not: And therefore he refuſed it. The King of *France* ſent a Gentleman to the Pope with a letter writ in his own hand, deſiring him to accept of that reſignation, and promiſing him upon it all reaſonable ſatisfaction: But the Pope would not admit the bearer, nor receive the letter. He ſaid, while the *French* Embaſſador lived at *Rome* like an enemy, that had invaded it, he would receive nothing from that Court.

IN the Biſhopricks of *Munſter* and *Hildeſheim*, the Deans were promoted, of whom both the States and the Princes of the Empire were well aſſured. But a new management was ſet up at *Colen*. The Elector of *Bavaria* had been diſguſted at ſome things in the Emperor's Court: He complained, that the honour of the ſucceſs in *Hungary* was given ſo entirely to the Duke of *Lorrain*, that he had not the ſhare which belonged to him. The *French* inſtruments that were then about him took occaſion to alienate him more from the Emperor, by repreſenting to him, that, in the management now at *Colen*, the Emperor ſhewed more regard to the *Palatine* Family than to himſelf, after all the ſer-

ſervice he had done him. The Emperor, apprehending the ill conſequences of a breach with him, ſent and offered him the ſupream command of his Armies in *Hungary* for that year, the Duke of *Lorrain* being taken ill of a fever, juſt as they were upon opening the Campaign. He likewiſe offered him all the voices that the *Palatine* had made at *Colen*, in favour of his brother Prince *Clement*. Upon this they were again reconciled: And the Elector of *Bavaria* commanded the Emperor's Army in *Hungary* ſo ſucceſsfully, that he took *Belgrade* by ſtorm after a ſhort ſiege. Prince *Clement* was then but ſeventeen, and was not of the Chapter of *Colen*. So he was not eligible according to their rules, till he obtained a Bull from the Pope diſpenſing with theſe things. That was eaſily got. With it the Emperor ſent one to manage the election in his name, with expreſs inſtructions to offer the Chapter the whole revenue and government of the temporalties for five years, in caſe they would chooſe Prince *Clement*, who wanted all that time to be of age. If he could make nine voices ſure for him, he was to ſtick firm to his intereſt. But, if he could not gain ſo many, he was to conſent to any perſon that ſhould be ſet up in oppoſition to the Cardinal. He was ordered to charge him ſeverely before the Chapter, as one that had been for many years an enemy and traitor to the Empire. This was done with all poſſible aggravations, and in very injurious words.

Pr. *Clement* of *Bavaria* made Elector of *Colen*.

THE Chapter ſaw, that this election was

1688. like to be attended with a war in their Country, and other dismal consequences: For the Cardinal was chosen by the Chapter, Vicar, or Guardian of the temporalties: And he had put garrisons in all their fortified places, that were paid with *French* money: And they knew, he would put them all in the King of *France*'s hands, if he was not elected. They had promised not to vote in favour of the *Bavarian* Prince. So they offered to the Emperor's agent to consent to any third person. But ten voices were made sure to Prince *Clement*: So he was fixed to his interests. At the election, the Cardinal had fourteen voices, and Prince *Clement* had ten. By this means the Cardinal's postulation was defective, since he had not two thirds. And upon that Prince *Clement*'s election was first judged good by the Emperor as to the temporalties; but was transmitted by him to *Rome*, where a congregation of Cardinals examined it: And it was judged in favour of Prince *Clement*. The Cardinal succeeded worse at *Liege*, where the Dean was without any difficulty chosen Bishop: And nothing but the Cardinal's purple saved him from the violences of the people of *Liege*. He met with all sorts of injurious usage, being hated there, both on the account of his depending so much on the protection of *France*, and for the effects they had felt of his violent and cruel Ministry under the old Elector. I will add one circumstance in honour of some of the Canons of *Liege*. They not only would accept of no presents from those whom the States appoin-

appointed to assist in manageing that election, before it was made; but they refused them after the election was over. This I saw in the letter that the States Deputy wrote to the *Hague*. 1688.

I have given a more particular account of this matter; because I was acquainted with all the steps that were made in it. And it had such an immediate relation to the peace and safety of *Holland*, that, if they had miscarried in it, the expedition designed for *England* would not have been so safe, nor could it have been proposed easily in the States. By this it appeared, what an influence the Papacy, low as it is, may still have in matters of the greatest consequence. The foolish pride of the *French* Court, which had affronted the Pope, in a point in which, since they allowed him to be the Prince of *Rome*, he certainly could lay down such rules as he thought fit, did now defeat a design that they had been long driving at, and which could not have miscarried by any other means, than those that they had found out. Such great events may and do often rise from inconsiderable beginnings. These things furnished the Prince with a good blind for covering all his preparations; since here a war in their neighbourhood was unavoidable, and it was necessary to strengthen both their alliances and their troops. For it was visible to all the world, that, if the *French* could have fixed themselves in the territory of *Colen*, the way was opened to enter *Holland*, or to seize on *Flanders*, when the King pleased; and he would

1688. would have the four Electors on the *Rhine* at mercy. It was neceſſary to diſlodge them, and this could not be done without a war with *France*. The Prince got the States to ſettle a fund for nine thouſand ſeamen to be conſtantly in their ſervice. And orders were given to put the naval preparations in ſuch a caſe, that they might be ready to put to ſea upon orders. Thus things went on in *July* and *Auguſt*, with ſo much ſecrecy and ſo little ſuſpicion, that neither the Court of *England* nor the Court of *France* ſeemed to be alarmed at them.

Herbert came over to Holland.

IN *July*, Admiral *Herbert* came over to *Holland*, and was received with a particular regard to his pride and ill humour: For he was upon every occaſion ſo ſullen and peeviſh, that it was plain he ſet a high value on himſelf, and expected the ſame of all others. He had got his accounts paſt, in which he complained, that the King had uſed him not only hardly but unjuſtly. He was a man delivered up to pride and luxury. Yet he had a good underſtanding: And he had gained ſo great a reputation by his ſteady behaviour in *England*, that the Prince underſtood that it was expected he ſhould uſe him as he himſelf ſhould deſire; in which it was not very eaſy to him to conſtrain himſelf ſo far as that required. The managing him was in a great meaſure put on me: And it was no eaſy thing. It made me often reflect on the providence of God, that makes ſome men inſtruments in great things, to which they themſelves have no ſort of affection or diſpoſition: For his private

private quarrel with the Lord *Dartmouth*, who he thought had more of the King's confidence than he himself had, was belived the root of all the sullenness he fell under towards the King, and of all the firmness that grew out of that. 1688.

The advices from *England*.

I now return to *England*, to give an account of a secret management there. The Lord *Mordaunt* was the first of all the *English* Nobility that came over openly to see the Prince of *Orange*. He asked the King's leave to do it. He was a man of much heat, many notions, and full of discourse. He was brave and generous: But had not true judgment: His thoughts were crude and indigested: And his secrets were soon known. He was with the Prince in the year 1686. And then he pressed him to undertake the business of *England*: And he represented the matter as so easy, that this appeared too romantical to the Prince to build upon it. He only promised in general, that he should have an eye on the affairs of *England*; and should endeavour to put the affairs of *Holland* in so good a posture, as to be ready to act when it should be necessary: And he assured him, that, if the King should go about either to change the established religion, or to wrong the Princess in her right, or to raise forged plots to destroy his friends, that he would try what he could possibly do. Next year a man of a far different temper came over to him:

The Lord *Mordaunt*'s character.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s character.

THE Earl of *Shrewbury*. He had been bred a Papist, but had forsaken that religion upon a very critical and anxious enquiry into mat-

1688. matters of controverſy. Some thought, that, tho' he had forſaken Popery, he was too ſceptical, and too little fixed in the points of religion. He ſeemed to be a man of great probity, and to have a high ſenſe of honour. He had no ordinary meaſure of learning, a correct judgment, with a ſweetneſs of temper that charmed all who knew him. He had at that time juſt notions of government; and ſo great a command of himſelf, that, during all the time that he continued in the Miniſtry, I never heard any one complaint of him, but for his ſilent and reſerved anſwers, with which his friends were not always well pleaſed. His modeſt deportment gave him ſuch an intereſt in the Prince, that he never ſeemed ſo fond of any of his Miniſters, as he was of him. He had only in general laid the ſtate of affairs before the Prince, without preſſing him too much.

Ruſſel's character.

BUT *Ruſſel* coming over in *May* brought the matter nearer a point. He was a couſin german to the Lord *Ruſſel*. He had been bred at ſea, and was Bed-chamber-man to the King, when he was Duke of *York*: But, upon the Lord *Ruſſel's* death, he retired from the Court. He was a man of much honour, and great courage. He had good principles, and was firm to them. The Prince ſpoke more poſitively to him, than he had ever done before. He ſaid, he muſt ſatisfy both his honour and conſcience, before he could enter upon ſo great a deſign, which, if it miſcarried, muſt bring ruin both on *England* and *Holland*: He proteſted, that no private ambition

tion nor reſentment of his own could ever prevail ſo far with him, as to make him break with ſo near a relation, or engage in a war of which the conſequences muſt be of the laſt importance both to the intereſts of *Europe* and of the Proteſtant Religion: Therefore he expected formal and direct invitations. *Ruſſel* laid before him the danger of truſting ſuch a ſecret to great nnmbers. The Prince ſaid, if a conſiderable number of men, that might be ſuppoſed to underſtand the ſenſe of the Nation beſt, ſhould do it, he would acquieſce in it. 1688.

RUSSEL told me, that upon his return to *England*, he communicated the matter, firſt to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and then to the Lord *Lumly*, who was a late convert from Popery, and had ſtood out very firmly all this reign. He was a man, who laid his intereſt much to heart: and he reſolved to embark deep in this deſign.

Sidney's character.

BUT the man in whoſe hands the conduct of the whole deſign was chiefly depoſited, by the Prince's own order, was Mr. *Sidney*, brother to the Earl of *Leiceſter* and to *Algernoon Sidney*. He was a graceful man, and had lived long in the Court, where he had ſome adventures that became very publick. He was a man of a ſweet and carreſſing temper, had no malice in his heart, but too great a love of pleaſure. He had been ſent Envoy to *Holland* in the year 1679., where he entred into ſuch particular confidences with the Prince, that he had the higheſt meaſure of his truſt and favour that any *Engliſhman* ever had. This was well known over *England*: So that all who

1688. who desired to recommend themselves to the Prince did it thro' his hands. He was so apprehensive of the dangers this might cast him in, that he travelled almost a year round *Italy*. But now matters ripened faster: So all centered in him. But, because he was lazy, and the business required an active man, who could both run about, and write over long and full accounts of all matters, I recommended a kinsman of my own, *Johnstoune*, whom I had formed, and knew to be both faithful and diligent, and very fit for the employment he was now trusted with.

Many engaged in the design.

SIDNEY tried the Marquis of *Hallifax*, if he would advise the Prince's coming over. But, as this matter was opened to him at a great distance, he did not encourage a further freedom. He looked on the thing as impracticable: It depended on so many accidents, that he thought it was a rash and desperate project, that ventured all upon such a dangerous issue, as might turn on seas and winds. It was next opened to Earl of *Danby*: And he not only went in heartily to it himself, but drew in the Bishop of *London* to join in it. By their advice it was proposed to the

Earl of *Nottingham*.

Earl of *Nottingham*, who had great credit with the whole Church party: For he was a man possessed with their notions, and was grave and vertuous in the course of his life. He had some knowledge of the law, and of the records of Parliament, and was a copious Speaker, but too florid and tedious. He was much admired by many. He had stood at a great distance from the

the Court all this reign: For, tho his name was ſtill among the Privy Counſellors, yet he never went to the board. He upon the firſt propoſition entertained it, and agreed to it. But at their next meeting he ſaid, he had conſidered better of that matter: His conſcience was ſo reſtrained in thoſe points, that he could not go futher with them in it: He ſaid, he had talked with ſome Divines, and named *Tillotſon* and *Stillingfleet*, in general of the thing; and they were not ſatisfied with it: (Tho' they proteſted to me afterwards, that they remembred no ſuch thing:) He confeſſed, he ſhould not have ſuffered them to go ſo far with him in ſuch a ſecret, till he had examined it better. They had now, according to *Italian* notions, a right to murder him: But, tho' his principles reſtrained him, ſo that he could not go on with them, his affections would make him to wiſh well to them, and be ſo far a criminal as concealment could make him one. The Earl of *Devonſhire* was ſpoke to: And he went into it with great reſolution. It was next propoſed to three of the chief Officers of the Army, *Trelawny*, *Kirk*, and the Lord *Churchill*. Theſe went all into it. And *Trelawny* engaged his brother, the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, into it. 1688.

BUT, having now named the Lord *Churchill*, who is like to be mentioned oft by me in the ſequel of this work; I will ſay a little more of him. He was a man of a noble and graceful appearance, bred up in the Court, with no literature. But he had a ſolid and Lord *Churchill's* character.

1688. clear understanding, with a constant presence of mind. He knew the arts of living in a Court beyond any man in it. He caressed all people with a soft and obliging deportment, and was always ready to do good offices. He had no fortune to set up on: This put him on all the methods of acquiring one. And that went so far into him, that he did not shake it off, when he was in a much higher elevation: Nor was his expence suited enough to his posts. But, when allowances are made for that, it must be acknowledged, that he is one of the greatest men the age has produced. He was in high favour with the King. But his Lady was much more in Princess *Anne*'s favour. She had an ascendant over her in every thing. She was a woman of little knowledge, but of clear apprehension, and a true judgment, a warm and hearty friend, violent and sudden in her resolutions, and impetuous in her way of speaking. She was thought proud and insolent on her favour, tho' she used none of the common arts of a Court to maintain it: For she did not beset the Princess, nor flatter her. She staid much at home, and looked very carefully after the education of her children. Having thus opened both their characters, I will now give an account of this Lord's engagements in this matter; for which he has been so severely censured, as guilty both of ingratitude and treachery to a very kind and liberal master. He never discovered any of the King's secets; nor did he ever push him on to any violent proceedings. So that he was

was in no contrivance to ruin or betray him. On the contrary, whenſoever he ſpoke to the King of his affairs, which he did but ſeldom, becauſe he could not fall in with the King's notions, he always ſuggeſted moderate counſels. The Earl of *Galway* told me, that when he came over with the firſt compliment upon the King's coming to the Crown, he ſaid then to him, that, if the King was ever prevailed on to alter our religion, he would ſerve him no longer, but withdraw from him. So early was this reſolution fixed in him. When he ſaw how the King was ſet, he could not be contented to ſee all ruined by him. He was alſo very doubtful as to the pretended birth. So he reſolved, when the Prince ſhould come over, to go in to him; but to betray no poſt, nor do any thing more than the withdrawing himſelf, with ſuch Officers as he could truſt with ſuch a ſecret. He alſo undertook, that Prince *George* and the Princeſs *Anne* would leave the Court, and come to the Prince, as ſoon as was poſſible. 1688.

WITH theſe invitations and letters the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and *Ruſſel* came over in *September*: And ſoon after them came *Sidney* with *Johnſtoune*. And they brought over a full ſcheme of advices, together with the heads of a declaration, all which were chiefly penned by Lord *Danby*. He and the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lord *Lumly* undertook for the North: And they all diſperſed themſelves into their ſeveral countries, and among their friends. The thing was in the hands of many thouſands, who yet were ſo true to

1688. one another, that none of them made any discovery, no not by their rashness: Tho' they were so confident, that they did not use so discreet a conduct as was necessary. Matters went on in *Holland* with great secrecy till *September*. Then it was known, that many arms were bespoke. And, tho' those were bargained for in the name of the King of *Sweden*, and of some of the Princes of *Germany*, yet there was ground enough for suspicion. All those that were trusted proved both faithful and discreet. And here an eminent difference appeared between the hearty concurrence of those who went into a design upon principles of religion and honour, and the forced compliance of mercenary Soldiers, or corrupt Ministers, which is neither cordial nor secret. *France* took the alarm first, and gave it to the Court of *England*.

The Court of *France* gave the alarm.

D'AVAUX, the *French* Embassador, could no more give the Court of *France* those advertisements that he was wont to send of all that past in *Holland*. He had great allowances for entertaining agents and spies every where. But *Louvoy*, who hated him, suggested that there was no more need of these: So they were stopped: And the Embassador was not sorry, that the Court felt their error so sensibly. The King published the advertisements he had from *France* a little too rashly: For all people were much animated, when they heard it from such a hand. The King soon saw his error: And, to correct it, he said on many occasions, that whatever the designs of the

Dutch

Dutch might be he was ſure they were not againſt him. It was given out ſometimes, that they were againſt *France*, and then that they were againſt *Denmark*, Yet the King ſhewed he was not without his fears: For he ordered fourteen more ſhips to be put to ſea with many fireſhips. He recalled *Strickland*, and gave the command to the Lord *Dartmouth*; who was indeed one of the worthieſt men of his Court: He loved him, and had been long in his ſervice, and in his confidence; But he was much againſt all the conduct of his affairs: Yet he reſolved to ſtick to him at all hazards. The ſeamen came in ſlowly: And a heavy backwardneſs appeared in every thing. 1688.

A new and unlooked for accident gave the King a very ſenſible trouble. It was reſolved, as was told before, to model the Army, and to begin with recruits from *Ireland*. Upon which the *Engliſh* Army would have become inſenſibly an *Iriſh* one. The King made the firſt trial on the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment, which being already under an illegal Colonel, it might be ſuppoſed they were ready to ſubmit to every thing. Five *Iriſhmen* were ordered to be put into every company of that Regiment, which then lay at *Portſmouth*. But *Beaumont*, the Lieutenant Colonel, and five of the Captains refuſed to receive them. They ſaid, they had raiſed their men upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s invaſion, by which their zeal for the King's ſervice did evidently appear. If the King would order any recruits, they doubted not but that they ſhould be able to make them. But they

Recruits from *Ireland* refuſed.

1688. found, it would give such an universal discontent, if they should receive the *Irish* among them, that it would put them out of a capacity of serving the King any more. But as the order was positive, so the Duke of *Berwick* was sent down to see it obeyed. Upon which they desired leave to lay down their commissions. The King was provoked by this to such a degree that he could not govern his passion. The Officers were put in arrest, and brought before a Council of war, where they were broken with reproach, and declared incapable to serve the King any more. But upon this occasion the whole Officers of the Army declared so great an unwillingness to mix with those of another Nation and Religion, that, as no more attempts were made of this kind, so it was believed that this fixed the King in a point that was then under debate.

Offers made by the *French*.

THE King of *France*, when he gave the King the advertisements of the preparations in *Holland*, offered him such a force as he should call for. Twelve or fifteen thousand were named, or as many more as he should desire. It was proposed, that they should land at *Portsmouth*, and that they should have that place to keep the communication with *France* open, and in their hands. All the Priests were for this: So were most of the Popish Lords. The Earl of *Sunderland* was the only man in credit that opposed it. He said, the offer of an Army of forty thousand men might be a real strength: But then it would depend on the orders that came from *France*: They might

might perhaps master *England*: But they would become the King's masters at the same time: So that he must govern under such orders as they should give: And thus he would quickly become only a Viceroy to the King of *France*: Any Army less than that would lose the King the affections of his people, and drive his own Army to desertion, if not to mutiny. 1688.

THE King did not think matters were yet so near a crisis: So he did neither entertain the proposition, nor let it fall quite to the ground. There was a treaty set on foot, and the King was to have an hundred merchant ships ready for the transportation of such forces as he should desire, which it was promised should be ready when called for. It is certain, that the *French* Embassador then at *London*, who knew the Court better than he did the Nation, did believe, that the King would have been able to have made a greater division of the Nation, than it proved afterwards he was able to do. He believed, it would have gone to a civil war; and that then the King would have been forced to have taken assistance from *France* on any terms: And so he encouraged the King of *France* to go on with his designs that winter, and he believed he might come in good time next year to the King's assistance. These advices proved fatal to the King, and to *Barillon* himself: For, when he was sent over to *France*, he was so ill looked on, that it was believed it had an ill effect on his health; for he died soon after. Not entertained at that time.

ALBEVILLE came over fully persua-

1688. ded that the *Dutch* designed the expedition against *England*, but plaid the Minister so, that he took pains to infuse into all people that they designed no such thing; which made him to be generally laughed at. He was soon sent back: And, in a memorial he gave in to the States, he asked, what was the design of those great and surprising preparations at such a season. The States, according to their slow forms let this lie long before them, without giving it an answer.

The *French* own an alliance with the King.

BUT the Court of *France* made a greater step. The *French* Embassador in a memorial told the States, that his master understood their design was against *England*, and in that case he signified to them, that there was such a strait alliance between him and the King of *England*, that he would look on every thing done against *England*, as an invasion of his own Crown. This put the King and his Ministers much out of countenance: For, upon some surmises of an alliance with *France*, they had very positively denied there was any such thing. *Albeville* did continue to deny it at the *Hague*, even after the memorial was put in. The King did likewise deny it to the *Dutch* Embassador at *London*. And the blame of the putting it into the memorial was cast on *Skelton* the King's Envoy at *Paris*, who was disowned in it, and upon his coming over was put in the Tower for it. This was a short disgrace; for he was soon after made Lieutenant of the Tower. His rash folly might have procured the order from the Court of *France*, to own this alliance: He thought

thought it would terrify the States: And ſo he preſſed this officiouſly, which they eaſily granted. That related only to the owning it in ſo publick a manner. But this did clearly prove, that ſuch an alliance was made: Otherwiſe no inſtances, how preſſing ſoever, would have prevailed with the Court of *France* to have owned it in ſo ſolemn a manner: For what Embaſſadors ſay in their maſter's name, when they are not immediately diſowned, paſſes for authentick. So that it was a vain cavil that ſome made afterwards, when they asked, how was this alliance proved? The memorial was a full proof of it: And the ſhew of a diſgrace on *Shelton* did not at all weaken that proof. 1688.

BUT I was more confirmed of this matter by what Sir *William Trumball*, then the *Engliſh* Embaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, told me at his return to *England*. He was the eminenteſt of all our Civilians, and was by much the beſt pleader in thoſe Courts, and was a learned, a diligent, and a vertuous man. He was ſent Envoy to *Paris* upon the Lord *Preſton*'s being recalled. He was there, when the edict that repealed the edict of *Nantes* was paſt, and ſaw the violence of the perſecution, and acted a great and worthy part in harbouring many, in covering their effects, and in conveying over their jewels and plate to *England*; which diſguſted the Court of *France*, and was not very acceptable to the Court of *England*, tho' it was not then thought fit to diſown or recall him for it. He had orders to put in memorials, com- Sr. *William Trumbal's* character.

1688. plaining of the invaſion of the Principality of *Orange*; which he did in ſo high a ſtrain, that the laſt of them was like a denunciation of war. From thence he was ſent to *Turkey*. And, about this time, he was ſurprized one morning by a viſit that the *French* Embaſſador made him, without thoſe ceremonies that paſs between Embaſſadors. He told him, there was no ceremony to be between them any more; for their maſters were now one. And he ſhewed him Monſieur *de Croiſſy*'s letter, which was written in cypher. The decyphering he read to him, importing that now an alliance was concluded between the two Kings. So, this matter was as evidently proved, as a thing of ſuch a nature could poſſibly be.

The ſtrange conduct of *France*.

THE conduct of *France* at that time with relation to the States was very unaccountable; and proved as favourable to the Prince of *Orange*'s deſigns, as if he had directed it. All the manufacture of *Holland* both linen & woolen was prohibited in *France*. The importation of herrings was alſo prohibited, except they were cured with *French* ſalt. This was contrary to the treaty of commerce. The manufacture began to ſuffer much. And this was ſenſible to thoſe who were concerned in the herring trade. So the States prohibited the importing of *French* wine or brandy, till the trade ſhould be ſet free again of both ſides. There was nothing that the Prince had more reaſon to apprehend, than that the *French* ſhould have given the States ſome ſatisfaction in the point of trade, and offered ſome aſſurances with rela-

relation to the territory of *Colen*. Many of the towns of *Holland* might have been wrought on by ſome temper in theſe things; great bodies being eaſily deceived, and not eaſily drawn into wars, which interrupt that trade which they ſubſiſt by. But the height the Court of *France* was then in, made them deſpiſe all the world. They ſeemed rather to wiſh for a war, than to fear it. This diſpoſed the States to an unanimous concurrence in the great reſolutions that were now agreed on; of raiſing ten thouſand men more, and of accepting thirteen thouſand *Germans*, for whom the Prince had, as was formerly mentioned, agreed with ſome of the Princes of the Empire. *Amſterdam* was at firſt cold in the matter: But they conſented with the reſt. Reports were given out, that the *French* would ſettle a regulation of commerce, and that they would abandon the Cardinal, and leave the affairs of *Colen* to be ſettled by the laws of the Empire. Expedients were alſo ſpoke of for accommodating the matter, by Prince *Clement*'s being admitted Coadjutor, and by his having ſome of the ſtrong places put in his hands. This was only given out to amuſe. 1688.

A Manifeſto of war againſt the Empire.

BUT while theſe things were diſcourſed of at the *Hague*, the world was ſurpriſed with a Manifeſto ſet out, in the King of *France*'s name, againſt the Emperor. In it, the Emperor's ill deſigns againſt *France* were ſet forth. It alſo complained of the Elector *Palatine*'s injuſtice to the Ducheſs of *Orleans*, in not giving her the ſucceſſion that fell to

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1688. hy her brother's death, which consisted in some lands, cannon, furniture, and other moveable goods. It also charged him with the disturbances in *Colen*, he having intended first to gain that to one of his own sons, and then engaging the *Bavarian* Prince into it; whose elder brother having no children, he hoped, by bringing him into an Ecclesiastical State, to make the succession of *Bavaria* fall into his own family. It charged the Emperor likewise with a design to force the Electors to choose his son King of the *Romans*; and that the Elector *Palatine* was pressing him to make peace with the *Turks*, in order to the turning his arms against *France*. By their means a great alliance was projected among many Protestant Princes to disturb Cardinal *Furstemberg* in the possession of *Colen*, to which he was postulated by the majority of the Chapter. And this might turn to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion in that territory. Upon all these considerations, the King of *France*, seeing that his enemies could not enter into *France* by any other way but by that of *Philipsburg*, resolved to possess himself of it, and then to demolish it. He resolved also to take *Kaiserslauter* from the *Palatine*, and to keep it, till the Duchess of *Orleans* had justice done her in her pretensions. And he also resolved to support the Cardinal in his possession of *Colen*. But, to balance this, he offered to the House of *Bavaria*, that Prince *Clement* should be chose Coadjutor. He offered also to raise *Fribourg*; and to restore *Kaiserslauter*, as soon as the Elector *Pala-*

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tine should pay the Dutchess of *Orleans* the just value of her pretensions. He demanded, that the truce between him and the Empire should be turned into a peace. He proposed, that the King of *England* and the Republick of *Venice* should be the mediators of this peace. And he concluded all, declaring that he would not bind himself to stand to the conditions now offered by him, unless they were accepted of before *January*. 1688.

I have given a full abstract of this Manifesto: For upon it did the great war begin, which lasted till the peace of *Ryswick*. And, upon the grounds laid down in this Manifesto, it will evidently appear, whether the war was a just one, or not. This declaration was much censured, both for the matter and for the stile. It had not the air of greatness, which became crowned heads. The Dutchess of *Orleans*'s pretensions to old furniture, was a strange rise to a war; especially when it was not alledged, that these had been demanded in the forms of law, and that justice had been denied, which was a course necessarily to be observed in things of that nature. The judging of the secret intentions of the Elector *Palatine* with relation to the House of *Bavaria* was absurd. And the complaints of designs to bring the Emperor to a peace with the *Turks*, that so he might make war on *France*, and of the Emperor's design to force an election of a King of the *Romans*, was entring into the secrets of those thoughts, which were only known to God. Such conjectures, so remote and uncertain, and that could not be proved

Reflections made upon it.

1688. proved, were a ſtrange ground of war. If this was once admitted, all treaties of peace were vain things, and were no more to be reckoned or relied on. The reaſon given of the intention to take *Philipsbourg*, becauſe it was the propereſt place by which *France* could be invaded, was a throwing off all regards to the common decencies obſerved by Princes. All fortified places on frontiers are intended both for reſiſtance and for magazines; and are of both ſides conveniencies for entring into the neighbouring territory, as there is occaſion for it. So here was a pretence ſet up, of beginning a war, that puts an end to all the ſecurities of peace.

THE buſineſs of *Colen* was judged by the Pope, according to the laws of the Empire: And his ſentence was final: Nor could the poſtulation of the majority of the Chapter be valid, unleſs two thirds joined in it. The Cardinal was commended in the Manifeſto, for his care in preſerving the peace of *Europe*. This was ridiculous to all, who knew that he had been for many years the great incendiary, who betrayed the Empire, chiefly in the year 1672. The charge that the Emperor's agent had laid on him before the Chapter was alſo complained of, as an infraction of the Amneſty ſtipulated by the peace of *Nimeguen*. He was not indeed to be called to an account, in order to be puniſhed for any thing done before that peace. But that did not bind up the Emperor from endeavouring to exclude him from ſo great a dignity, which was like to prove fatal to the Empire. Theſe were ſome of

of the cenſures that paſt on this Manifeſto; which was indeed looked on, by all who had conſidered the rights of peace and the laws of war, as one of the moſt avowed and ſolemn declarations, that ever was made, of the perfidiouſneſs of that Court. And it was thought to be ſome degrees beyond that in the year 1672., in which that King's glory was pretended as the chief motive of that war. For in that, particulars were not reckoned up: So it might be ſuppoſed, he had met with affronts, which he did not think conſiſtent with his greatneſs to be mentioned. But here all that could be thought on, even the hangings of *Heidelberg*, were enumerated: And all together amounted to this, that the King of *France* thought himſelf tied by no peace; but that, when he ſuſpected his neighbours were intending to make war upon him, he might upon ſuch a ſuſpicion begin a war on his part. 1688.

Another againſt the Pope.

THIS Manifeſto againſt the Emperor was followed by another againſt the Pope, writ in the form of a letter to Cardinal *D'Eſtrees*, to be given by him to the Pope. In it, he reckoned all the partiality that the Pope had ſhewed during his whole Pontificate, both againſt *France* and in favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. He mentioned the buſineſs of the Regale; his refuſing the Bulls to the Biſhops nominated by him; the diſpute about the franchiſes, of which his Embaſſadors had been long in poſſeſſion; the denying audience, not only to his Embaſſador, but to a Gentleman whom he had ſent to *Rome* without

1688. out a character, and with a letter writ in his own hand: In concluſion, he complained of the Pope's breaking the Canons of the Church, in granting Bulls in favour of Prince *Clement*, and in denying juſtice to Cardinal *Furſtemberg*: For all theſe reaſons the King was reſolved to ſeparate the character of the Moſt Holy Father from that of a temporal Prince: And therefore he intended to ſeize on *Avignon*, as likewiſe on *Caſtro*, untill the Pope ſhould ſatisfy the pretenſions of the Duke of *Parma*. He complained of the Pope's not concurring with him in concerns of the Church, for the extirpation of hereſy: In which the Pope's behaviour gave great ſcandal both to the old Catholicks, and to the new converts. It alſo gave the Prince of *Orange* the boldneſs to go and invade the King of *England*, under the pretence of ſupporting the Proteſtant religion, but indeed to deſtroy the Catholick religion, and to overturn the Government: Upon which his emiſſaries and the writers in *Holland* gave out, that the birth of the Prince of *Wales* was an impoſture.

Cenſures that paſt upon it.

THIS was the firſt publick mention that was made of the impoſture of that birth: For the author of a book writ to that purpoſe was puniſhed for it in *Holland*. It was ſtrange to ſee the diſputes about the Franchiſes made a pretence for a war: For certainly all ſovereign Princes can make ſuch regulations as they think fit in thoſe matters. If they cut Embaſſadors ſhort in any privilege, their Embaſſadors are to expect the ſame treatment from other Princes: And as long as the

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sacredneſs of an Embaſſador's perſon, and of his family, was ſtill preſerved, which was all that was a part of the law of Nations, Princes may certainly limit the extent of their other privileges, and may refuſe any Embaſſadors, who will not ſubmit to their regulation. The number of an Embaſſador's retinue is not a thing that can be well defined: But if an Embaſſador comes with an army about him, inſtead of a retinue, he may be denied admittance. And if he forces it, as *Lavardin* had done, it was certainly an act of hoſtility: And, inſtead of having a right to the character of an Embaſſador, he might well be conſidered and treated as an enemy. 1688.

THE Pope had obſerved the Canons in rejecting Cardinal *Furſtemburg*'s defective poſtulation. And, whatever might be brought from ancient Canons, the practice of that Church for many ages allowed of the diſpenſations that the Pope granted to Prince *Clement*. It was looked on by all people, as a ſtrange reverſe of things, to ſee the King of *France*, after all his cruelty to the Proteſtants, now go to make war on the Pope; and on the other hand to ſee the whole Proteſtant body concurring to ſupport the authority of the Pope's Bulls in the buſineſs of *Colen*; and to defend the two Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bavaria*, by whom they were laid ſo low but threeſcore years before this. The *French*, by the war that they had now begun, had ſent their troops towards *Germany* and the upper *Rhine*; and ſo had rendred their ſending

1688. an Army over to *England* impracticable: Nor could they send such a force into the Bishoprick of *Colen*, as could any ways alarm the States. So that the invasion of *Germany* made the designs that the Prince of *Orange* was engaged in both practicable and safe.

Marshal *Schomberg* sent to *Cleve*.

MARSHAL *Schomberg* came at this time into the country of *Cleve*. He was a *German* by birth: So when the persecution was begun in *France*, he desired leave to return into his own Country. That was denied him. All the favour he could obtain, was leave to go to *Portugal*. And so cruel is the spirit of Popery, that, though he had preserved that Kingdom from falling under the yoke of *Castille*, yet now that he came thither for refuge, the Inquisition represented that matter of giving harbour to a heretick so odiously to the King, that he was forced to send him away. He came from thence, first to *England*: And then he passed thro' *Holland*, where he entred into a particular confidence with the Prince of *Orange*. And being invited by the old Elector of *Brandenburgh*, he went to *Berlin*: Where he was made Governor of *Prussia*, and set at the head of all the Elector's armies. The son treated him now with the same regard that the father had for him: And sent him to *Cleve*, to command the troops that were sent from the Empire to the defence of *Colen*. The Cardinal offered a neutrality to the Town of *Colen*. But they choose rather to accept a garrison that *Schomberg* sent them: By which not only that Town was secured, but a stop was put to any progress

greſs the *French* could make, till they could get that great Town into their hands. By theſe means the States were ſafe on all hands for this winter: And this gave the Prince of *Orange* great quiet in proſecuting his deſigns upon *England*. He had often ſaid, that he would never give occaſion to any of his enemies to ſay, that he had carried away the beſt force of the States, and had left them expoſed to any impreſſions that might be made on them in his abſence. He had now reaſon to conclude, that he had no other risk to run in his intended expedition, but that of the ſeas and the weather. The ſeas were then very boiſterous: And the ſeaſon of the year was ſo far ſpent, that he ſaw he was to have a campaign in winter. But all other things were now well ſecured by this unexpected conduct of the *French*. 1688.

THERE was a fleet now ſet to ſea of about fifty ſail. Moſt of them were third or fourth rates, commanded by *Dutch* Officers. But *Herbert*, as repreſenting the Prince's perſon, was to command in chief, as Lieutenant General Admiral. This was not very eaſy to the States, not indeed to the Prince himſelf; who thought it an abſurd thing to ſet a ſtranger at the head of their fleet. Nothing leſs would content *Herbert*. And it was ſaid, that nothing would probably make the *Engliſh* fleet come over, and join with the Prince, ſo much as the ſeeing one that had lately commanded them at the head of the *Dutch* fleet. There was a tranſport fleet hired for carrying over the Army. And this The *Dutch* fleet at ſea.

1688. grew to be about five hundred veſſels: For, tho' the horſe and dragoons in pay were not four thouſand, yet the horſes for Officers and Voluntiers, and for artillery and baggage, were above ſeven thouſand. There were arms provided for twenty thouſand more. And, as things were thus made ready,

The Prince of *Orange*'s declaration.

THE Declaration that the Prince was to publiſh came to be conſidered. A great many draughts were ſent from *England* by different hands. All theſe were put in the Penſioner *Fagel*'s hands, who upon that made a long and heavy draught, founded on the grounds of the civil law, and of the law of Nations. That was brought to me to be put in *Engliſh*. I ſaw he was fond of his own draught; and the Prince left that matter wholly to him: Yet I got it to be much ſhortned, tho' it was ſtill too long. It ſet forth at firſt a long recital of all the violations of the laws of *England*, both with relation to religion, to the civil government, and to the adminiſtration of juſtice, which have been all opened in the ſeries of the hiſtory. It ſet forth next all the remedies that had been tried in a gentler way; all which had been ineffectual. Petitioning by the greateſt perſons, and in the privateſt manner, was made a crime. Endeavours were uſed to pack a Parliament, and to pre-ingage both the votes of the electors, and the votes of ſuch as upon the election ſhould be returned to ſit in Parliament. The writs were to be addreſſed to unlawful officers, who were diſabled by law to execute them: So that

that no legal Parliament could now be brought together. In concluſion, the reaſons of ſuſpecting the Queen's pretended delivery were ſet forth in general terms. Upon theſe grounds the Prince, ſeeing how little hope was left of ſucceeding in any other method, and being ſenſible of the ruin both of the Proteſtant religion, and of the conſtitution of *England* and *Ireland*, that was imminent, and being earneſtly invited by men of all ranks, and in particular by many of the Peers, both Spiritual and Temporal, he reſolved, according to the obligation he lay under, both on the Princeſs's account, and on his own, to go over into *England*, and to ſee for proper and effectual remedies for redreſſing ſuch growing evils, in a Parliament that ſhould be lawfully choſen, and ſhould ſit in full freedom, according to the ancient cuſtom and conſtitution of *England*, with which he would concur in all things that might tend to the peace and happineſs of the Nation. And he promiſed in particular, that he would preſerve the Church and the eſtabliſhed religion, and that he would endeavour to unite all ſuch as divided from the Church, to it by the beſt means that could be thought on, and that he would ſuffer ſuch as would live peaceably to enjoy all due freedom in their conſciences, and that he would refer the enquiry into the Queen's delivery to a Parliament, and acquieſce in its deciſion. This the Prince ſigned and ſealed on the tenth of *October*. With this the Prince ordered letters to be writ in his name, inviting both the ſoldiers, ſeamen, 1688.

1688. and others to come and join with him, in order to the ſecuring their religion, laws, and liberties. Another ſhort paper was drawn by me concerning the meaſures of obedience, juſtifying the deſign, and anſwering the objections that might be made to it. Of all theſe many thouſand copies were printed, to be diſperſed at our landing.

I was deſired to go with the Prince.

THE Prince deſired me to go along with him as his Chaplain, to which I very readily agreed: For, being fully ſatisfied in my conſcience that the undertaking was lawful and juſt, and having had a conſiderable hand in adviſing the whole progreſs of it. I thought it would have been an unbecoming fear in me to have taken care of my own perſon, when the Prince was venturing his, and the whole was now to be put to hazard. It is true, I being a *Scotiſh* man by birth, had reaſon to expect, that, if I had fallen into the enemies hands, I ſhould have been ſent to *Scotland*, and put to the torture there. And, having this in proſpect, I took care to know no particulars of any one of thoſe who correſponded with the Prince. So that knowing nothing againſt any, even torture it ſelf could not have drawn from me that by which any perſon could be hurt. There was another Declaration prepared for *Scotland*. But I had no other ſhare in that, but that I corrected it in ſeral places, chiefly in that which related to the Church: For the *Scots* at the *Hague*, who were all Presbyterians had drawn it ſo, that, by many paſſages in it, the Prince by an implication declared in favour of Presbytery. He did

did not see what the consequences of those were, till I explained them. So he ordered them to be altered. And by the declaration that matter was still entire. 1688.

AS *Sidney* brought over letters from the persons formerly mentioned, both inviting the Prince to come over to save and rescue the Nation from ruin, and assuring him that they wrote that which was the universal sense of all the wise and good men in the Nation: So they also sent over with him a scheme of advices. They advised his having a great Fleet, but a small Army; They thought, it should not exceed six or seven thousand men. They apprehended, that an ill use might be made of it, if he brought over too great an Army of foreigners, to infuse in people a jealousy that he designed a conquest: They advised his landing in the North, either in *Burlington* bay, or a little below *Hull*: *Yorkshire* abounded in horse: And the Gentry were generally well affected, even to zeal, for the design: The country was plentiful, and the roads were good till within fifty miles of *London*. The Earl of *Danby* was earnest for this, hoping to have had a share in the whole management by the interest he believed he had in that country. It was confessed, that the western counties were well affected: But it was said, that the miscarriage of *Monmouth*'s invasion, and the executions which followed it, had so dispirited them, that it could not be expected they would be forward to join the Prince. Above all things they pressed dispatch, and all possible haste: The Advices from *England*.

1688. King had then but eighteen ſhips riding in the *Downs:* But a much greater Fleet was almoſt ready to come out: They only wanted ſeamen, who came in very ſlowly

WHEN theſe things were laid before the Prince, he ſaid, he could by no means reſolve to come over with ſo ſmall a force: He could not believe what they ſuggeſted, concerning the King's Army's being diſpoſed to come over to him: Nor did he reckon, ſo much as they did, on the people of the country's coming in to him. He ſaid, he could truſt to neither of theſe. He could not undertake ſo great a deſign, the miſcarriage of which would be the ruin both of *England* and *Holland*, without ſuch a force, as he had reaſon to believe would be ſuperior to the King's own, tho' his whole Army ſhould ſtick to him. Some propoſed, that the Prince would divide his force, and land himſelf with the greateſt part in the North, and ſend a detachment to the Weſt under Marſhal *Schomberg*. They preſſed the Prince very earneſtly to bring him over with him, both becauſe of the great reputation he was in, and becauſe they thought it was a ſecurity to the Prince's perſon, and to the whole deſign, to have another General with him, to whom all would ſubmit in caſe of any diſmal accident: For it ſeemed too much to have all depend on a ſingle life: And they thought that would be the ſafer, if their enemies ſaw another perſon capable of the command, in caſe they ſhould have a deſign upon the Prince's perſon. With this the Prince complied eaſily, and obtain-

obtained the Elector's conſent to carry him over with him. But he rejected the motion of diving his Fleet and Army. He ſaid, ſuch a divided force might be fatal: For if the King ſhould ſend his chief ſtrength againſt the detachment, and have the advantage, it might loſe the whole buſineſs; ſince a misfortune in any one part might be the ruin of the whole. 1688.

WHEN theſe advices were propoſed to *Herbert*, and the other ſeamen, they oppoſed the landing in the North vehemently. They ſaid, no ſeamen had been conſulted in that: The North coaſt was not fit for a Fleet to ride in in an Eaſt wind, which it was to be expected in winter might blow ſo freſh that it would not be poſſible to preſerve the Fleet: And if the Fleet was left there the Channel was open for ſuch forces as might be ſent from *France*: The Channel was the ſafer ſea for the Fleet to ride in, as well as to cut off the aſſiſtance from *France*. Yet the advices for this were ſo poſitive, and ſo often repeated from *England*, that the Prince was reſolved to have ſpilt the matter, and to have landed in the North, and then to have ſent the Fleet to lie in the Channel.

Artifices to cover the deſign.

THE Prince continued ſtill to cover his deſign, and to look towards *Colen*. He ordered a review of his Army, and an encampment for two months at *Nimeguen*. A train of artillery was alſo ordered. By theſe orders the Officers ſaw a neceſſity of furniſhing themſelves for ſo long a time. The main point remained, how money ſhould be

1688. found for so chargeable an expedition. The The *French* Embassador had his eye upon this; and reckoned that, whensoever any thing relating to it should be moved, it would be then easy to raise an opposition, or at least to create a delay. But *Fagel*'s great foresight did prevent this. In the *July* before, it was represented to the States, that now by reason of the neighbourhood of *Colen*, and the war that was like to rise there, it was necessary to repair their places, both on the *Rhine* and the *Issel*, which were in a very bad condition. This was agreed to: And the charge was estimated at four millions of Guilders. So the States created a fund for the interest of that money, and ordered it to be taken up by a loan. It was all brought in in four days. About the end of *September* a message was delivered to the States from the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, by which he undertook to send an Army into his country of *Cleve*, and to secure the States from all danger on that side for this winter.

UPON this, it was proposed, to lend the Prince the four millions. And this passed easily in the States, without any opposition, to the amazement of all that saw it: For it had never been known, that so great and so dangerous an expedition in such a season had been so easily agreed to, without so much as one disagreeing vote, either at the *Hague*, or in any of the Towns of *Holland*. All people went so cordially into it, that it was not necessary to employ much time in satisfying them, both of the

the lawfulneſs and of the neceſſity of the undertaking. *Fagel* had ſent for all the eminent Miniſters of the chief Towns of *Holland*: And, as he had a vehemence as well as a tenderneſs in ſpeaking, he convinced them evidently, that both their religion and their country were in ſuch imminent danger, that nothing but this expedition could ſave them: They ſaw the perſecution in *France*: And in that they might ſee what was to be expected from that religion: They ſaw the violence with which the King of *England* was driving matters in his country, which if not ſtopped would ſoon prevail. He ſent them thus full of zeal, to diſpoſe the people to a hearty approbation and concurrence in this deſign. The Miniſters in *Holland* are ſo watched over by the States, that they have no more authority when they meet in a body, in a Synod or in a Claſſis, than the States think fit to allow them. But I was never in any place, where I thought the Clergy had generally ſo much credit with the people, as they have there: And they employed it all upon this occaſion very diligently, and to good purpoſe. Thoſe who had no regard to religion, yet ſaw a war began in the Empire by the *French*. And the publication of the alliance between *France* and *England* by the *French* Embaſſador, made them conclude that *England* would join with *France*. They reckoned, they could not ſtand before ſuch an united force, and that therefore it was neceſſary to take *England* out of the hands of a Prince, who was ſuch a firm ally to *France*. All the *Engliſh* that lived in *Holland*, 1688.

1688. especially the merchants that were ſettled in *Amſterdam*, where the oppoſition was like to be ſtrongeſt, had ſuch poſitive advices of the diſpoſition that the Nation, and even the Army were in; that, as this undertaking was conſidered as the only probable means of their preſervation, it ſeemed ſo well concerted, that little doubt was made of ſucceſs, except what aroſe from the ſeaſon; which was not only far ſpent, but the winds were both ſo contrary and ſo ſtormy for many weeks, that a forcible ſtop ſeemed put to it by the hand of heaven.

The *Dutch* put to ſea.

HERBERT went to ſea with the *Dutch* Fleet: And was ordered to ſtand over to the *Downs*, and to look on the *Engliſh* Fleet, to try if any would come over, of which ſome hopes were given; or to engage them, while they were then not above eighteen or twenty ſhips ſtrong. But the contrary winds made this not only impracticable, but gave great reaſon to fear that a great part of the Fleet would be either loſt or diſabled. Theſe continued for above a fortnight, and gave us at the *Hague* a melancholy proſpect. *Herbert* alſo found, that the Fleet was neither ſo ſtrong nor ſo well manned, as he had expected.

Some factious motions at the *Hague*.

ALL the *Engliſh*, that were ſcattered about the Provinces, or in *Germany*, came to the *Hague*. Among theſe there was one *Wildman*, who from being an agitator in *Cromwell*'s Army, had been a conſtant meddler on all occaſions in every thing that looked like ſedition, and ſeemed inclined to oppoſe every thing that was uppermoſt. He brought his

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uſual ill humour along with him, having a peculiar talent in poſſeſſing others by a ſort of contagion with jealouſy and diſcontent. To theſe the Prince ordered his declaration to be ſhewed. *Wildman* took great exceptions to it, with which he poſſeſſed many to ſuch a degree, that they began to ſay, they would not engage upon thoſe grounds. *Wildman* had drawn one, in which he had laid down a ſcheme of the government of *England*, and then had ſet forth many particulars in which it had been violated, carrying theſe a great way into King *Charles*'s reign; all which he ſupported by many authorities from law books. He objected to the Prince's inſiſting ſo much on the Diſpenſing Power, and on what had been done to the Biſhops. He ſaid, there was certainly a Diſpenſing Power in the Crown, practiſed for ſome ages: Very few Patents paſſed in which there was not a *non obſtante* to one or more acts of Parliament: This power had been too far ſtretched of late: But the ſtretching of a power that was in the Crown, could not be a juſt ground of war: The King had a right to bring any man to a trial: The Biſhops had a fair trial, and were acquitted, and diſcharged upon it: In all which there was nothing done contrary to law. All this ſeemed myſterious, when a known Republican was become an advocate for Prerogative. His deſign in this was deep and ſpiteful. He ſaw that, as the declaration was drawn, the Church party would come in, and be well received by the Prince: So he, who deſigned to ſeparate the Prince and them at the greateſt diſtance 1688.

1688. distance from one another, ſtudied to make the Prince declare againſt thoſe grievances, in which many of them were concerned, and which ſome among them had promoted. The Earl of *Macclesfield*, with the Lord *Mordaunt*, and many others, joined with him in this. But the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, together with *Sidney*, *Ruſſel*, and ſome others, were as poſitive in their opinion, that the Prince ought not to look ſo far back as into King *Charles*'s reign: This would diſguſt many of the Nobility and Gentry, and almoſt all the Clergy: So they thought the Declaration was to be ſo conceived, as to draw in the body of the whole Nation: They were all alarmed with the Diſpenſing Power: And it would ſeem very ſtrange to ſee an invaſion, in which this was not ſet out as the main ground of it: Every man could diſtinguiſh between the diſpenſing with a ſpecial act in a particular caſe, and a total diſpenſing with laws to ſecure the Nation & the Religion: The ill deſigns of the Court, as well as the affections of the Nation, had appeared ſo evidently in the Biſhops trial, that if no notice was taken of it, it would be made uſe of to poſſeſs all people with an opinion of the Prince's ill will to them. *Ruſſel* ſaid, that any reflections made on King *Charles*'s reign would not only carry over all the high Church party, but all the Army, entirely to the King. *Wildman*'s declaration was much objected to. The Prince could not enter into a diſcuſſion of the law and government of *England*: That was to be left to the Parliament: The Prince could

could only set forth the present and publick grievances, as they were transmitted to him by those upon whose invitation he was going over. This was not without some difficulty overcome, by altering some few expressions in the first draught, and leaving out some circumstances. So the Declaration was printed over again, with some amendments. 1688.

The Army was shipped.

IN the beginning of *October* the troops marched from *Nimeguen* & were put on board in the *Zuyder* sea, where they lay above ten days before they could get out of the *Texel*. Never was so great a design executed in so short a time. A transport fleet of five hundred vessels was hired in three days time. All things, as soon as they were ordered, were got to be so quickly ready, that we were amazed at the dispatch. It is true, some things were wanting, and some things had been forgot. But when the greatness of the equipage was considered, together with the secrecy with which it was to be conducted till the whole design was to be avowed, it seemed much more strange that so little was wanting, or that so few things had been forgot. *Bentink*, *Dykvelt*, *Herbert* and *Van Hulst*, were for two months constantly at the *Hague*, giving all necessary orders, with so little noise that nothing broke out all that while. Even in lesser matters favourable circumstances concurred to cover the design. *Bentink* used to be constantly with the Prince, being the person that was most entirely trusted and constantly employed by him: So that his absence from him, being so extraordinary a thing, might have

1688. have given ſome umbrage. But all the ſummer his Lady was ſo very ill, that ſhe was looked on every day as one that could not live three days to an end: So that this was a very juſt excuſe for his attendance at the *Hague*.

The Princeſs's ſenſe of things.

I waited on the Princeſs a few days before we left the *Hague*. She ſeemed to have a great load on her ſpirits, but to have no ſcruple as to the lawfulneſs of the deſign. After much other diſcourſe, I ſaid, that if we got ſafe to *England*, I made no great doubt of our ſucceſs in all other things. I only begged her pardon to tell her, that if there ſhould happen to be at any time any disjointing between the Prince and her, that would ruin all. She anſwered me, that I needed fear no ſuch thing: If any perſon ſhould attempt that, ſhe would treat them ſo, as to diſcourage all others from venturing on it for the future. She was very ſolemn and ſerious, and prayed God earneſtly to bleſs and direct us.

The Prince took leave of the States.

ON the ſixteenth of *October O. S.* the wind that had ſtood ſo long in the Weſt, came into the Eaſt. So orders were ſent to all to haſte to *Helvoet-Sluys*. That morning the Prince went into the aſſembly of the States General, to take leave of them. He ſaid to them, he was extream ſenſible of the kindneſs they had all ſhewed him upon many occaſions: He took God to witneſs, he had ſerved them faithfully, ever ſince they had truſted him with the government, and that he had never any end before his eyes but the good of the country: He had purſued it always: And if at any time he

he erred in his judgment, yet his heart was ever set on procuring their safety and prosperity. He took God to witness, he went to *England* with no other intentions, but those he had set out in his Declaration: He did not know how God might dispose of him: To his providence he committed himself: Whatsoever might become of him, he committed to them the care of their country, and recommended the Princess to them in a most particular manner: He assured them, she loved their country perfectly, and equally with her own: He hoped, that whatever might happen to him, they would still protect her, and use her as she well deserved: And so he took leave. It was a sad, but a kind parting. Some of every Province offered at an answer to what the Prince had said: But they all melted into tears & passion: So that their speeches were much broken, very short, and extream tender. Only the Prince himself continued firm in his usual gravity and phlegm. When he came to *Helvoet-Sluys*, the transport fleet had consumed so much of their provisions, that three days of the good wind were lost, before all were supplied anew. 1688.

We sailed out of the Maese.

AT last, on the nineteenth of *October*, the Prince went aboard, and the whole Fleet sailed out that night. But the next day the wind turned into the North, and settled in the North-West. At night a great storm rose. We wrought against it all that night, and the next day. But it was in vain to struggle any longer. And so vast a Fleet run no small hazard, being obliged to keep together, and

1688. yet not to come too near one another. On the twenty first in the afternoon the signal was given to go in again: And on the twenty second the far greater part got safe into port. Many ships were at first wanting, and were believed to be lost: But after a few days all came in. There was not one ship lost; nor so much as any one man, except one that was blown from the shrouds into the sea. Some ships were so shattered, that as soon as they came in, and all was taken out of them, they immediately sunk down. Only five hundred horses died for want of air. Men are upon such occasions apt to flatter themselves upon the points of providence. In *France* & *England*, as it was believed that our loss was much greater than it proved to be, so they triumphed not a little, as if God had fought against us, and defeated the whole design. We on our part, who found our selves delivered out of so great a storm and so vast a danger, looked on it as mark of God's great care of us, who, tho' he had not changed the course of the winds and seas in our favour, yet had preserved us while we were in such apparent danger, beyond what could have been imagined. The States were not at all discouraged with this hard beginning, but gave the necessary orders for supplying us with every thing that we needed. The Princess behaved herself at the *Hague* suitably to what was expected from her. She ordered prayers four times a day, and assisted at them with great devotion. She spoke to no body of affairs, but was calm and silent. The States

But were forced back.

States ordered ſome of their body to give her an account of all their proceedings. She indeed anſwered little: But in that little ſhe gave them cauſe often to admire her judgment. 1688.

In *England* the Court ſaw now, that it was in vain to diſſemble or diſguiſe their fears any more. Great conſultations were held there. The Earl of *Melfort*, and all the Papiſts, propoſed the ſeizing on all ſuſpected perſons, and the ſending them to *Portſmouth*. The Earl of *Sunderland* oppoſed this vehemently. He ſaid, it would not be poſſible to ſeize on many at the ſame time: And the ſeizing on a few would alarm all the reſt: It would drive them in to the Prince, and furniſh them with a pretence for it. He propoſed rather, that the King would do ſuch popular things, as might give ſome content, and lay that fermentation with which the Nation was then, as it were, diſtracted. This was at that time complied with: But all the Popiſh party continued upon this to charge Lord *Sunderland*, as one that was in the King's counſels only to betray them; that had before diverted the offer of aſſiſtance from *France*, and now the ſecuring thoſe who were the moſt likely to join and aſſiſt the Prince. By their importunities the King was at laſt ſo prevailed on, that he turned him out of all his places: And Lord *Preſton* was made Secretary of State. The Fleet was now put out, and was ſo ſtrong, that, if they had met the *Dutch* Fleet, probably they would have been too hard for them, eſpecially conſidering the great tranſport fleet that they were

Conſultations in *England*.

1688. to cover. All the forces that were in *Scotland* were ordered into *England*: And that Kingdom was left in the hands of their Militia. Several Regiments came likewiſe from *Ireland*. So that the King's Army was then about thirty thouſand ſtrong. But in order to lay the heat that was raiſed in the Nation the King ſent for the Biſhops; and ſet out the injuſtice of this unnatural invaſion that the Prince was deſigning: He aſſured them of his affections to the Church of *England*; and proteſted, he had never intended to carry things further than to an equal liberty of conſcience: He deſired, they would declare their abhorrence of this invaſion, and that they would offer him their advice, what was fit for him to do. They declined the point of abhorrence, and adviſed the preſent ſummoning a Parliament; and that in the mean while the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion might be broken, the proceedings againſt the Biſhop of *London*, and *Magdalen* College might be reverſed, and that the law might be again put in its channel. This they delivered with great gravity, and with a courage that recommended them to the whole Nation. There was an order ſent them from the King afterwards, requiring them to compoſe an office for the preſent occaſion. The prayers were ſo well drawn, that even thoſe who wiſhed for the Prince might have joined in them. The Church party did now ſhew their approbation of the Prince's expedition in ſuch terms, that many were ſurprized at it, both then, and ſince that time. They ſpoke openly

openly in favour of it. They expreſſed their grief to ſee the wind ſo croſs. They wiſhed for an Eaſt wind, which on that occaſion was called the Proteſtant wind. They ſpoke with great ſcorn of all that the Court was then doing to regain the hearts of the Nation. And indeed the proceedings of the Court that way were ſo cold, and ſo forced, that few were like to be deceived by them, but thoſe who had a mind to be deceived. The writs for a Parliament were often ordered to be made ready for the Seal, and were as often ſtopt. Some were ſealed, and given out: But they were quickly called in again. The old Charters were ordered to be reſtored again. *Jefferies* himſelf carried back the Charter of the City of *London*, and put on the appearances of joy and heartineſs when he gave it to them. All men ſaw thro' that affectation: For he had raiſed himſelf chiefly upon the adviſing, or promoting, that matter of the ſurrender, and the forfeiture of the Charters. An order was alſo ſent to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to put the Preſident of *Magdalen* College again in poſſeſſion. Yet, that order not being executed when the news was brought that the Prince and his Fleet were blown back, it was countermanded: which plainly ſhewed what it was that drove the Court into ſo much compliance, and how long it was like to laſt. 1688.

THE matter of the greateſt concern, and that could not be dropt, but was to be ſupported, was the birth of the Prince of *Wales*. And therefore the Court thought it neceſſary, now

Proofs brought for the birth of the Prince of *Wales*.

1688. now in an after game, to offer ſome ſatisfaction in that point. So a great meeting was called, not only of all the Privy Counſellors and Judges, but of all the Nobility then in Town. To theſe the King complained of the great injury that was done both him and the Queen by the Prince of *Orange*, who accuſed them of ſo black an impoſture: He ſaid, he believed there were few Princes then alive, who had been born in the preſence of more witneſſes than were at his ſon's birth: He had therefore called them together, that they might hear the proof of that matter. It was firſt proved, that the Queen was delivered abed, while many were in the room; and that they ſaw the child ſoon after he was taken from the Queen by the midwife. But in this the midwife was the ſingle witneſs; for none of the Ladies had felt the child in the Queen's belly. The Counteſs of *Sunderland* did indeed depoſe, that the Queen called to her to give her her hand, that ſhe might feel how the child lay, to which ſhe added, *which I did*; but did not ſay, whether ſhe felt the child, or not: And ſhe told the Ducheſs of *Hamilton*, from whom I had it, that when ſhe put her hand into the bed, the Queen held it, and let it go no lower than her breaſts. So that really ſhe felt nothing. And this depoſition, brought to make a ſhew, was an evidence againſt the matter, rather than for it; and was a violent preſumption of an impoſture, and of an artifice to cover it. Many Ladies depoſed, that they had often ſeen the marks of milk on the Queen's linen, near her breaſts. Two or three

three depoſed, that they ſaw it running out at the nipple. All theſe depoſed, that they ſaw milk before the pretended delivery. But none of them depoſed concerning milk after the delivery, tho' nature ſends it then in greater abundance: And the Queen had it always in ſuch a plenty, that ſome weeks paſſed after her delivery, before ſhe was quite freed from it. The Ladies did not name the time in which they ſaw the milk, except one, who named the month of *May*. But, if the particulars mentioned before, that happen'd on *Eaſter Monday*, are reflected on, and if it appears probable by theſe that the Queen miſcarried at that time, then all that the Ladies mentioned of milk in her breaſts, particularly ſhe that fixed it to the month of *May*, might have followed upon that miſcarriage, and be no proof concerning the late birth. Mrs. *Pierce*, the landreſs, depoſed that ſhe took linen from the Queen's body once, which carried the marks of a delivery. But ſhe ſpoke only to one time. That was a main circumſtance. And, if it had been true, it muſt have been often done, and was capable of a more copious proof, ſince there is occaſion for ſuch things to be often looked on, and well conſidered. The Lady *Wentworth* was the ſingle witneſs that depoſed, that ſhe had felt the child move in the Queen's belly. She was a Bed-chamber woman, as well as a ſingle witneſs: And ſhe fixed it on no time. If it was very early, ſhe might have been miſtaken. Or if it was before *Eaſter Monday*, it might be true, and yet have no relation to 1688.

1688. this birth. This was the ſubſtance of this evidence, which was ordered to be enrolled and printed. But, when it was publiſhed, it had a quite contrary effect to what the Court expected from it. The preſumption of law before this was all in favour of the birth, ſince the parents owned the child: So that the proof lay on the other ſide, and ought to be offered by thoſe who called it in queſtion. But, now that this proof was brought, which was ſo apparently defective, it did not leſſen but increaſe the jealouſy with which the Nation was poſſeſſed: For all people concluded, that, if the thing had been true, it muſt have been eaſy to have brought a much more copious proof than was now publiſhed to the world. It was much obſerved, that Princeſs *Anne* was not preſent. She indeed excuſed herſelf. She thought ſhe was breeding: And all motion was forbidden her. None believed that to be the true reaſon; for it was thought, that the going from one apartment of the Court to another could not hurt her. So it was looked on as a colour that ſhewed ſhe did not believe the thing, and that therefore ſhe would not by her being preſent ſeem to give any credit to it.

THIS was the ſtate of affairs in *England*, while we lay at *Helvoet-Sluys*, where we continued till the firſt of *November*. Here *Wildman* created a new diſturbance. He plainly had a ſhew of courage, but was, at leaſt then, a coward. He poſſeſſed ſome of the *Engliſh* with an opinion, that the deſign was now irrecoverably loſt. This was entertained

tertained by many, who were willing to hearken to any propoſition that ſet danger at a diſtance from themſelves. They were ſtill magnifying the *Engliſh* Fleet, and undervaluing the *Dutch*. They went ſo far in this, that they propoſed to the Prince, that *Herbert* ſhould be ordered to go over to the coaſt of *England*, and either fight the *Engliſh* Fleet, or force them in: And in that caſe the Tranſport Fleet might venture over; which otherwiſe they thought could not be ſafely done. This ſome urged with ſuch earneſtneſs, that nothing but the Prince's authority, and *Schomberg*'s credit, could have withſtood it. The Prince told them, the ſeaſon was now ſo far ſpent, that the loſing of more time was the loſing the whole deſign: Fleets might lie long in view of one another, before it could be poſſible for them to come to an engagement, tho' both ſides equally deſired it, but much longer, if any one of them avoided it: It was not poſſible to keep the Army, eſpecially the horſe, long at ſea: And it was no eaſy matter to take them all out, and to ſhip them again: after the wind had ſtood ſo long in the Weſt, there was reaſon to hope it would turn to the Eaſt: And when that ſhould come, no time was to be loſt: For it would ſometimes blow ſo freſh in a few days as to freeze up the river; ſo that it would not be poſſible to get out all the winter long. With theſe things he rather ſilenced than quieted them. All this while the men of war were ſtill riding at ſea, it being a continued ſtorm for ſome weeks. The 1688.

1688. Prince ſent out ſeveral advice boats with orders to them to come in. But they could not come up to them. On the twenty ſeventh of *October* there was for ſix hours together a moſt dreadful ſtorm: So that there were few among us, that did not conclude, that the beſt part of the Fleet, and by conſequence that the whole deſign, was loſt. Many, that have paſt for Heroes, yet ſhewed then the agonies of fear in their looks and whole deportment. The Prince ſtill retained his uſual calmneſs, and the ſame tranquillity of ſpirit, that I had obſerved in him in his happieſt days. On the twenty eighth it calmed a little, and our Fleet came all in, to our great joy. The rudder of one third rate was broken: And that was all the hurt that the ſtorm had done. At laſt the much longed for Eaſt wind came. And ſo hard a thing it was to ſet ſo vaſt a body in motion, that two days of this wind were loſt before all could be quite ready.

We ſailed out more happily a ſecond time.

ON the firſt of *November O. S.* we ſailed out with the evening tide; but made little way that night, that ſo our Fleet might come out, and move in order. We tried next day till noon, if it was poſſible to ſail Northward: But the wind was ſo ſtrong, and full in the Eaſt, that we could not move that way. About noon the ſignal was given to ſteer Weſtward. This wind not only diverted us from that unhappy courſe, but it kept the *Engliſh* Fleet in the river: So that it was not poſſible for them to come out, tho' they were come down as far as to the Gunfleet. By this

this means we had the ſea open to us, with a fair wind, and a ſafe navigation. On the third we paſt between *Dover* and *Calais*, and before night came in ſight of the iſle of *Wight*. The next day being the day in which the Prince was both born and married, he fancied if could land that day, it would look auſpicious to the Army, and animate the ſoldiers. But we all, who conſidered, that the day following, being Gunpowder Treaſon day, our landing that day might have a good effect on the minds of the *Engliſh* Nation, were better pleaſed to ſee that we could land no ſooner. *Torbay* was thought the beſt place for our great Fleet to lie in: And it was reſolved to land the Army, where it could be beſt done near it; reckoning, that being at ſuch a diſtance from *London*, we could provide our ſelves with horſes, and put every thing in order before the King could march his Army towards us, and that we ſhould lie ſome time at *Exeter* for the refreſhing our men. I was in the ſhip, with the Prince's other domeſticks, that went in the van of the whole Fleet. At noon on the fourth *Ruſſel* came on board us with the beſt of all the *Engliſh* pilots that they had brought over. He gave him the ſteering of the ſhip; and ordered him to be ſure to ſail ſo, that next morning we ſhould be ſhort of *Dartmouth*: For it was intended that ſome of the ſhips ſhould land there, and that the reſt ſhould ſail into *Torbay*. The pilot thought, he could not be miſtaken in meaſuring our courſe; and believed that he certainly kept within orders, till the morning 1688.

1688. ning ſhewed us we were paſt *Torbay* and *Dartmouth*. The wind, tho' it had abated much of its firſt violence, yet was ſtill full in the Eaſt: So now it ſeemed neceſſary for us to ſail on to *Plymouth*, which muſt have engaged us in a long and tedious campaign in winter, thro' a very ill Country. Nor were we ſure to be received at *Plymouth*. The Earl of *Bath*, who was Governor, had ſent by *Ruſſel* a promiſe to the Prince to come and join him: Yet it was not likely, that he would be ſo forward as to receive us at our firſt coming. The delays he made afterwards, pretending that he was managing the garriſon, whereas he was indeed ſtaying till he ſaw how the matter was like to be decided, ſhewed us how fatal it had proved, if we had been forced to ſail on to *Plymouth*. But while *Ruſſel* was in no ſmall diſorder, after he ſaw the pilot's error (upon which he bid me go to my prayers, for all was loſt,) and as he was ordering the boat to be cleared to go aboard the Prince, on a ſudden to all our wonder it calmed a little. And then the wind turned into the South: And a ſoft and happy gale of wind carried in the whole Fleet in four hours time into *Torbay*. Immediately as many landed as conveniently could. As ſoon as the Prince and Marſhal *Schomberg* got to ſhore, they were furniſhed with ſuch horſes as the village of *Broxholme* could afford; and rode up to view the grounds which they found as convenient as could be imagined for the foot in that ſeaſon. It was not a cold night: Otherwiſe

We landed at *Torbay*.

wiſe the ſoldiers, who had been kept warm aboard, might have ſuffered much by it. As ſoon as I landed, I made what haſte I could to the place where the Prince was; who took me heartily by the hand, and asked me, if I would not now believe predeſtination. I told him, I would never forget that providence of God, which had appeared ſo ſignally on this occaſion. He was cheerfuller than ordinary. Yet he returned ſoon to his uſual gravity. The Prince ſent for all the fiſhermen of the place; and asked them, which was the propereſt place for landing his horſe, which all apprehended would be a tedious buſineſs, and might hold ſome days. But next morning he was ſhewed a place, a quarter of a mile below the village, where the ſhips could be brought very near the land, againſt a good ſhore, and the horſes would not be put to ſwim above twenty yards. This proved to be ſo happy for our landing, tho' we came to it by meer accident, that, if we had ordered the whole Iſland round to be ſounded, we could not have found a properer place for it. There was a dead calm all that morning: And in three hour's time all our horſe were landed, with as much baggage as was neceſſary till we got to *Exeter*. The artillery and heavy baggage were left aboard, and ordered to *Topſham* the ſea-port to *Exeter*. All that belonged to us was ſo ſoon and ſo happily landed, that by the next day at noon we were in full march, and marched four miles that night. We had from thence twenty miles to *Exeter*: And we 1688.

re-

1688. reſolved to make haſte thither. But, as we were now happily landed, and marching, we ſaw new and unthought of characters of a favourable providence of God watching over us. We had no ſooner got thus diſengaged from our Fleet, than a new and great ſtorm blew from the Weſt; from which our Fleet, being covered by the land, could receive no prejudice: But the King's Fleet had got out as the wind calmed, and in purſuit of us was come as far as the Iſle of *Wight*, when this contrary wind turned upon them. They tried what they could to purſue us: But they were ſo ſhattered by ſome days of this ſtorm, that they were forced to go into *Portſmouth*, and were no more fit for ſervice that year. This was a greater happineſs than we were then aware of: For the Lord *Dartmouth* aſſured me ſome time after, that, whatever ſtories we had heard and believed, either of Officers or ſeamen, he was confident they would all have fought very heartily. But now, by the immediate hand of heaven, we were maſters of the ſea without a blow. I never found a diſpoſition to ſuperſtition in my temper: I was rather inclined to be philoſophical upon all occaſions. Yet I muſt confeſs, that this ſtrange ordering of the winds and ſeaſons, juſt to change as our affairs required it, could not but make deep impreſſions on me, as well as on all that obſerved it. Thoſe famous verſes of *Claudian* ſeemed to be more applicable to the Prince, than to him they were made on:

O ni-

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther, 1688.
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!
Heaven's favourite, for whom the skies
do fight,
And all the winds conspire to guide thee
right!

The Prince made haste to *Exeter*, where he staid ten days, both for refreshing his troops, and for giving the Country time to shew their affections. Both the Clergy and Magistrates of *Exeter* were very fearful, and very backward. The Bishop and the Dean ran away. And the Clergy stood off, tho' they were sent for, and very gently spoke to by the Prince. The truth was, the doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance had been carried so far, and preached so much, that Clergymen either could not all on the sudden get out of that entanglement, into which they had by long thinking and speaking all one way involved themselves, or they were ashamed to make so quick a turn. Yet care was taken to protect them and their houses every where: So that no sort of violence nor rudeness was offered to any of them. The Prince gave me full authority to do this: And I took so particular a care of it, that we heard of no complaints. The Army was kept under such an exact discipline, that every thing was paid for where it was demanded; tho' the soldiers were contented with such moderate entertainment, that the people generally asked but little for what they did eat. We staid a week at *Exeter*, before any of the Gentlemen of the country about came in to the Prince

1688. Prince. Every day ſome perſons of condition came from other parts. The firſt were the Lord *Colcheſter* the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of *Rivers*, and the Lord *Wharton*, Mr. *Ruſſel* the Lord *Ruſſel*'s brother, and the Earl of *Abington*.

The King's Army began to come over to the Prince.

THE King came down to *Salibury*, and ſent his toops twenty miles further. Of theſe, three Regiments of horſe and dragoons were drawn on by their Officers, the Lord *Cornbury* and Coll. *Langſton*, on deſign to come over to the Prince. Advice was ſent to the Prince of this. But becauſe theſe Officers were not ſure of their ſubalterns, the Prince ordered a body of his men to advance, and aſſiſt them in caſe any reſiſtance was made. They were within twenty miles of *Exeter*, and within two miles of the body that the Prince had ſent to join them, when a whiſper ran about among them that they were betrayed. Lord *Cornbury* had not the preſence of mind that ſo critical a thing required. So they fell in confuſion, and many rode back. Yet one Regiment came over in a body, and with them about a hundred of the other two. This gave us great courage; and ſhewed us, that we had not been deceived in what was told us of the inclinations of the King's Army. Yet, on the other hand, thoſe who ſtudied to ſupport the King's ſpirit by flatteries told him, that in this he ſaw that he might truſt his Army, ſince theſe who intended to carry over thoſe Regiments, were forced to manage it with ſo much artifice, and durſt not diſcover their deſign either to Officers or

or ſoldiers; and that, as ſoon as they perceived it, the greater part of them had turned back. The King wanted ſupport: For his ſpirits ſunk extreamly. His blood was in ſuch fermentation, that he was bleeding much at the noſe which returned oft upon him every day. He ſent many ſpies over to us: They all took his money, and came and joined themſelves to the Prince, none of them returning to him. So that he had no intelligence brought him of what the Prince was doing, but what common reports brought him, which magnified our numbers, and made him think we were coming near him, while we were ſtill at *Exeter*. He heard that the City of *London* was very unquiet. News were brought him, that the Earls of *Devonſhire* and *Danby*, and the Lord *Lumley*, were drawing great bodies together, and that both *York* and *Newcaſtle* had declared for the Prince. The Lord *Delamere* had raiſed a Regiment in *Cheſhire*. And the body of the Nation did every where diſcover their inclinations for the Prince ſo evidently, that the King ſaw he had nothing to truſt to, but his Army. And the ill diſpoſition among them was ſo apparent, that he reckoned he could not depend on them. So that he loſt both heart and head at once. But that which gave him the laſt and moſt confounding ſtroke was, that the Lord *Churchill*, and the Duke of *Grafton* left him, and came and joined the Prince at *Axminſter*, twenty miles on that ſide of *Exeter*. After this he could not know on whom he could depend. The Duke of 1688.

1688. *Grafton* was one of King *Charles*'s ſons by the Ducheſs of *Cleveland*. He had been ſome time at ſea, and was a gallant but rough man. He had more ſpirit than any one of the King's ſons. He made an anſwer to the King about this time, that was much talked of. The King took notice of ſomewhat in his behaviour that looked factious: And he ſaid, he was ſure he could not pretend to act upon principles of conſcience; for he had been ſo ill bred, that as he knew little of religion ſo he regarded it leſs. But he anſwered the King, that, tho' he had little conſcience, yet he was of a party that had conſcience. Soon after that, Prince *George*, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Drumlanerick* the Duke of *Queensberry*'s eldeſt ſon, left him, and came over to the Prince, and joined him, when he was come as far as the Earl of *Briſtol*'s houſe at *Sherburn*. When the news came to *London*, the Princeſs was ſo ſtruck with the apprehenſions of the King's diſpleaſure, and of the ill effects that it might have, that ſhe ſaid to the Lady *Churchill*, that ſhe could not bear the thoughts of it, and would leap out at window rather than venture on it. The Biſhop of *London* was then lodged very ſecretly in *Suffolk* ſtreet. So the Lady *Churchill*, who knew where he was went to him, and concerted with him the method of the Princeſs's withdrawing from the Court. The Princeſs went ſooner to bed than ordinary. And about midnight ſhe went down a backſtairs from her cloſet, attended only by the Lady *Churchill*, in ſuch haſte that they carried

carried nothing with them. They were waited for by the Bishop of *London*, who carried them to the Earl of *Dorset*'s, whose Lady furnished them with every thing. And so they went northward, as far as *Northampton*; where that Earl attended on them with all respect, and quickly brought a body of horse to serve for a guard to the Princess And in a little while a small Army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the Bishop of *London*; of which he too easily accepted. 1688.

THESE things put the King in an unexpressible confusion. He saw himself now forsaken, not only by those whom he had trusted and favoured most, but even by his own children. And the Army was in such distraction, that there was not any one body that seemed entirely united and firm to him. A foolish ballad was made at that time, treating the Papists, and chiefly the *Irish*, in a very ridiculous manner, which had a burden, said to be *Irish* words, *lero lero lilibulero*, that made an impression on the Army, that cannot be well imagined by those who saw it not. The whole Army, and at last all people both in city and country, were singing it perpetually. And perhaps never had so slight a thing so great an effect.

An Association among those who came to the Prince.

WHILE the Prince staid at *Exeter*, the rabble of the people came in to him in great numbers. So that he could have raised many Regiments of foot, if there had been any occasion for them. But what he understood of the temper the King's Army was in, made him

1688 judge it was not neceſſary to arm greater numbers. After he had ſtaid eight days at *Exeter*, *Seymour* came in with ſeveral other Gentlemen of quality and eſtate. As ſoon as he had been with the Prince, he ſent to ſeek for me. When I came to him, he asked me, why we had not an Aſſociation ſigned by all that came to us, ſince, till we had that done, we were as a rope of ſand: Men might leave us when they pleaſed, and we had them under no tie: Whereas, if they ſigned an Aſſociation, they would reckon themſelves bound to ſtick to us. I anſwered, it was becauſe we had not a man of his authority and credit to offer and ſupport ſuch an advice. I went from him to the Prince, who approved of the motion; as did alſo the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and all that were with us. So I was ordered to draw it. It was, in few words, an engagement to ſtick together in purſuing the ends of the Prince's declaration; and that, if any attempt ſhould be made on his perſon, it ſhould be revenged on all by whom or from whom any ſuch attempt ſhould be made. This was agreed to by all about the Prince. So it was engroſſed in parchment, and ſigned by all thoſe that came in to him. The Prince put *Devonſhire* and *Exeter* under *Seymour*'s government, who was Recorder of *Exeter*. And he advanced with his Army, leaving a ſmall garriſon there with his heavy artillery under Coll. *Gibſon*, whom he made Deputy Governor as to the military part.

AT *Crookhorn*, Dr. *Finch*, ſon to the Earl of

of *Winchelſea*, then made Warden of All-Souls College in *Oxford*, was ſent to the Prince from ſome of the Heads of Colleges; aſſuring him, that they would declare for him, and inviting him to come thither, telling him, that their plate ſhould be at his ſervice, if he needed it. This was a ſudden turn from thoſe principles that they had carried ſo high a few years before. The Prince had deſigned to have ſecured *Briſtol* and *Gloceſter*, and ſo to have gone to *Oxford*, the whole Weſt being then in his hands, if there had been any appearance of a ſtand to be made againſt him by the King and his Army; for, the King being ſo much ſuperior to him in horſe, it was not adviſable to march thro' the great plains of *Dorſetſhire* and *Wiltſhire*. But the King's precipitated return to *London* put an end to this precaution. The Earl of *Bath* had prevailed with the garriſon of *Plymouth*; & they declared for the Prince. So now all behind him was ſafe. When he came to *Sherburn*, all *Dorſetſhire* came in a body, and joined him. He reſolved to make all the haſte he could to *London*, where things were in a high fermentation. 1688.

The Heads in *Oxford* ſent to him.

A bold man ventured to draw and publiſh another Declaration in the Prince's name. It was penned with great ſpirit: And it had as great an effect. It ſet forth the deſperate deſigns of the Papiſts, and the extream danger the Nation was in by their means, and required all perſons immediately to fall on ſuch Papiſts as were in any employments, and to turn them out, and to ſecure all ſtrong pla-

Great diſorders in *London*.

1688. ces, and to do every thing elſe that was in their power to execute the laws, and to bring all things again into their proper channels. This ſet all men at work: For no doubt was made, that it was truly the Prince's declaration. But he knew nothing of it. And it was never known, who was the author of ſo bold a thing. No perſon ever claimed the merit of it: For, tho' it had an amazing effect, yet, it ſeems, he that contrived it apprehended, that the Prince would not be well pleaſed with the author of ſuch an impoſture in his name. The King was under ſuch a conſternation, that he neither knew what to reſolve on, nor whom to truſt. This pretended Declaration put the City in ſuch a flame, that it was carried to the Lord Mayor, and he was required to execute it. The prentices got together, and were falling upon all Maſs-houſes, and committing many irregular things. Yet their fury was ſo well governed, and ſo little reſiſted that no other miſchief was done: No blood was ſhed.

A treaty begun with the Prince.

THE King now ſent for all the Lords in Town, that were known to be firm Proteſtants. And upon ſpeaking to ſome of them in private, they adviſed him to call a general meeting of all the Privy Counſellors, and Peers, to ask their advice, what was fit to be done. All agreed in one opinion, that it was fit to ſend Commiſſioners to the Prince to treat with him. This went much againſt the King's own inclinations: Yet the dejection he was in, and the deſperate ſtate of his affairs, forced him to conſent to it. So the Marquis

Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, were ordered to go to the Prince, and to ask him, what it was that he demanded. The Earl of *Clarendon* reflected the moſt on the King's former conduct of any in that aſſembly, not without ſome indecent and inſolent words, which were generally condemned. He expected, as was ſaid, to be one of the Commiſſioners: And, upon his not being named, he came and met the Prince near *Salisbury*. Yet he ſuggeſted ſo many peeviſh and peculiar things, when he came, that ſome ſuſpected, all this was but colluſion, and that he was ſent to raiſe a faction among thoſe that were about the Prince. The Lords ſent to the Prince to know where they ſhould wait on him: And he named *Hungerford*. When they came thither, and had delivered their meſſage, the Prince called all the Peers and others of chief note about him, and adviſed with them what anſwer ſhould be made. A day was taken to conſider of an anſwer. The Marquis of *Hallifax* ſent for me. But the Prince ſaid, tho' he would ſuſpect nothing from our meeting, others might. So I did not ſpeak with him in private, but in the hearing of others. Yet he took occaſion to ask me, ſo as no body obſerved it, if we had a mind to have the King in our hands? I ſaid, by no means; for we would not hurt his perſon. He asked next, what if he had a mind to go away? I ſaid, nothing was ſo much to be wiſhed for. This I told the Prince. And he approved of both my anſwers. The Prince ordered the 1688.

1688. Earls of *Oxford*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Clarendon* to treat with the Lords the King had ſent. And they delivered the Prince's anſwer to them on *Sunday* the eighth of *December*.

HE deſired a Parliament might be preſently called; that no men ſhould continue in any employment, who were not qualified by law, and had not taken the Teſts; that the Tower of *London* might be put in the keeping of the City; that the Fleet, and all the ſtrong places of the Kingdom, might be put in the hands of Proteſtants; that a proportion of the revenue might be ſet off for the pay of the Prince's Army; and that during the ſitting of the Parliament, the Armies of both ſides might not come within twenty miles of *London*; but that the Prince might come on to *London*, and have the ſame number of his guards about him, that the King kept about his perſon. The Lords ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied with this anſwer. They ſent it up by an expreſs, and went back next day to *London*.

The King left the Kingdom.

BUT now ſtrange counſels were ſuggeſted to the King and Queen. The Prieſts, and all the violent Papiſts, ſaw a treaty was now opened. They knew, that they muſt be the ſacrifice. The whole deſign of Popery muſt be given up, without any hope of being able in an age to think of bringing it on again. Severe laws would be made againſt them. And all thoſe who intended to ſtick to the King, and to preſerve him, would go into thoſe laws with a particular zeal: So that they, and their hopes, muſt be now given up, and ſacrificed for ever. They infuſed all this into the Queen. They ſaid, ſhe would certainly be impeached:

And

And witneſſes would be ſet up againſt her, and her ſon: The King's Mother had been impeached in the long Parliament: And ſhe was to look for nothing but violence. So the Queen took up a ſudden reſolution of going to *France* with the child. The midwife, together with all who were aſſiſting at the birth, were alſo carried over, or ſo diſpoſed of, that it could never be learned what became of them afterwards. The Queen prevailed with the King, not only to conſent to this, but to promiſe to go quickly after her. He was only to ſtay a day or two after her, in hope that the ſhadow of authority that was ſtill left in him might keep things ſo quiet, that ſhe might have an undiſturbed paſſage. So ſhe went to *Portſmouth*. And from thence, in a Man of war, ſhe went over to *France*, the King reſolving to follow her in diſguiſe. Care was alſo taken to ſend all the Prieſts away. The King ſtaid long enough to get the Prince's anſwer. And when he had read it, he ſaid, he did not expects ſo good terms. He ordered the Lord Chancellor to come to him next morning. But he had called ſecretly for the Great Seal. And the next morning, being the tenth of *December*, about three in the morning he went away in diſguiſe with Sir *Edward Hales*, whoſe ſervant he ſeemed to be. They paſt the river, and flung the Great Seal into it, which was ſome months after found by a Fiſherman near *Fox-Hall*. The King went down to a miſerable fiſher boat, that *Hales* had provided for carrying them over to *France*. 1688.

1688. He is much cenſured.

THUS a great King, who had a good Army and a ſtrong Fleet, did chooſe rather to abandon all, than either to expoſe himſelf to any danger with that part of the Army that was ſtill firm to him, or to ſtay and ſee the iſſue of a Parliament. Some put this mean and unaccountable reſolution on a want of courage. Others thought it was the effect of an ill Conſcience, and of ſome black thing under which he could not now ſupport himſelf. And they who cenſured it the moſt moderately, ſaid, that it ſhewed, that his Prieſts had more regard to themſelves than to him; & that he conſidered their intereſt more than his own; and that he choſe rather to wander abroad with them, and to try what he could do by a *French* force to ſubdue his people, than to ſtay at home, and be ſhut up within the bounds of law, and be brought under an incapacity of doing more miſchief: which they ſaw was neceſſary to quiet thoſe fears and jealouſies, for which his bad government had given ſo much occaſion. It ſeemed very unaccountable, ſince he was reſolved to go, that he did not chooſe rather to go in one of his Yatchs or Fregats, than to expoſe himſelf in ſo dangerous and ignominious a manner. It was not poſſible to put a good conſtruction on any part of the diſhonourable ſcene which he then acted.

WITH this his reign ended: For this was a plain deſerting his people, and the expoſing the Nation to the pillage of an Army, which he had ordered the Earl of *Feverſham* to diſband. And the doing this without paying them,

them, was the letting ſo many armed men looſe upon the Nation; who might have done much miſchief, if the execution of thoſe orders that he left behind him had not been ſtopped. I ſhall continue the recital of all that paſt in this *Interregnum*, till the Throne, which he now left empry, was filled. 1688.

HE was not got far, when ſome fiſhermen of *Feverſham*, who were watching for ſuch Prieſts, and other delinquents, as they fancied were making their eſcape, came up to him. And they, knowing Sir *Edward Hales*, took both the King and him, and brought them to *Feverſham*. The King told them who he was. And that flying about brought a vaſt croud together, to look on that aſtoniſhing inſtance of the uncertainty of all worldly greatneſs; when he who had ruled three Kingdoms, and might have been the arbiter of all *Europe*, was now in ſuch mean hands, and ſo low an equipage. The people of the town were extremely diſordered with this unlooked for accident: And, tho' for a while they kept him as a priſoner, yet they quickly changed that into as much reſpect as they could poſſibly pay him. Here was an accident that ſeemed of no great conſequence. Yet all the ſtrugglings made ever ſince that time to this day, by that party, which from him were called afterwards the *Jacobites*, did riſe out of this: For, if he had got clear away, by all that could be judged, he would not have had a party left: All would have agreed, that here was a deſertion, and that therefore the Nation was free, and at liber- But is brought back.

1688. liberty to ſecure it ſelf. But what followed upon this gave them a colour to ſay, that he was forced away, and driven out. Till now, he ſcarce had a party, but among the Papiſts. But from this incident a party grew up, that has been long very active for his intereſts. As ſoon as it was known at *London* that the King was gone, the prentices and the rabble, who had been a little quieted when they ſaw a treaty on foot between the King and the Prince, now broke out again upon all ſuſpected houſes, where they believed there was either Prieſts or Papiſts. They made great havock of many places, not ſparing the houſes of Embaſſadors. But none were killed, no houſes burnt, nor were any robberies committed. Never was ſo much fury ſeen under ſo much management. *Jefferies*, finding the King was gone, ſaw what reaſon he had to look to himſelf: And, apprehending that he was now expoſed to the rage of the people, whom he had provoked with ſo particular a brutality, he had diſguiſed himſelf to make his eſcape. But he fell into the hands of ſome who knew him. He was inſulted by them with as much ſcorn and rudeneſs as they could invent. And, after many hours toſſing him about, he was carried to the Lord Mayor; whom they charged to commit him to the Tower, which the Lord *Lucas* had then ſeized, and in it had declared for the Prince. The Lord Mayor was ſo ſtruck with the terror of this rude populace, and with the diſgrace of a man who had made all people tremble before him, that he fell into

into fits upon it, of which he died ſoon after. 1688.

TO prevent the further growth of ſuch diſorders, he called a meeting of the Privy Counſellors and Peers, who met at *Guild-Hall*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was there. They gave a ſtrict charge for keeping the peace; and agreed to ſend an invitation to the Prince, deſiring him to come and take the government of the Nation into his hands, till a Parliament ſhould meet to bring all matters to a juſt and full ſettlement. This they all ſigned; and ſent it to the Prince by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Viſcount of *Weymouth*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Culpepper*. The Prince went on from *Hungerford* to *Newbury*, and from thence to *Abington*, reſolving to have gone to *Oxford* to receive the compliments of the Univerſity, and to meet the Princeſs *Anne* who was coming thither. At *Abington* he was ſurprized with the news of the ſtrange cataſtrophe of affairs now at *London*, the Kings deſertion, and the diſorders which the City and neighbourhood of *London* were falling into. One came from *London*, and brought him the news, which he knew not well how to believe, till he had an expreſs ſent him from the Lords, who had been with him from the King. Upon this the Prince ſaw, how neceſſary it was to make all poſſible haſte to *London*. So he ſent to *Oxford*, to excuſe his not coming thither, and to offer the Aſſociation to them, which was ſigned by almoſt all the Heads, and the chief men of the Univerſity; even by thoſe, who,

The Prince is deſired to come and take the government into his hands.

1688. who, being disappointed in the preferments they aspired to, became afterwards his most implacable enemies.

HITHERTO the expedition had been prosperous, beyond all that could have been expected. There had been but two small engagements, during this unseasonable campaign. One was at *Winkington* in *Dorsetshire*, where an advanced party of the Prince's met one of the King's that was thrice their number: Yet they drove them before them into a much greater body, where they were overpowered with numbers. Some were killed of both sides. But there were more prisoners taken of the Prince's men. Yet, tho' the loss was of his side, the courage that his men shewed in so a great an inequality as to number, made us reckon that we gained more than we lost on that occasion. Another action happen'd at *Reading*, where the King had a considerable body, who, as some of the Prince's men advanced, fell into a great disorder, and ran away. One of the Prince's Officers was shot. He was a Papist: And the Prince in consideration of his religion was willing to leave him behind him in *Holland*: But he very earnestly begged he might come over with his company: And he was the only Officer that was killed in the whole expedition.

Different advice given to the Prince con-

UPON the news of the King's desertion, it was proposed that the Prince should go on with all possible haste to *London*. But that was not advisable. For the King's Army lay so scattered thro' the road all the way to *London*,

don, that it was not fit for him to advance faſter, than as his troops marched before him: Otherwiſe, any reſolute Officer might have ſeized or killed him. Tho', if it had not been for that danger, a great deal of miſchief, that followed, would have been prevented by his ſpeedy advance: For now began that turn, to which all the difficulties, that did afterwards diſorder our affairs, may be juſtly imputed. Two Gentlemen of *Kent* came to *Windſor* the morning after the Prince came thither. They were addreſſed to me. And they told me of the accident at *Feverſham*, and deſired to know the Prince's pleaſure upon it. I was affected with this diſmal reverſe of the fortune of a great Prince, more than I think fit to expreſs. I went immediately to *Bentink*, and wakned him, and got him to go in to the Prince, and let him know what had happen'd, that ſome order might be preſently given for the ſecurity of the King's perſon, and for taking him out of the hands of a rude multitude, who ſaid, they would obey no orders but ſuch as came from the Prince. The Prince ordered *Zuyleſtein* to go immediately to *Feverſham*, and to ſee the King ſafe, and at full liberty to go whitherſoever he pleaſed. But, as ſoon as the news of the King's being at *Feverſham* came to *London*, all the indignation that people had formerly conceived againſt him was turned to pity and compaſſion. The Privy Council met upon it. Some moved, that he ſhould be ſent for. Others ſaid, he was King, and might ſend for his guards and coaches, as he pleaſed:

1688. cerning the King's perſon.

1688. pleaſed: But it became not them to ſend for him. It was left to his General, the Earl of *Feverſham*, to do what he thought beſt. So he went for him with his coaches and guards. And, as he came back thro' the City, he was welcomed with expreſſions of joy by great numbers: So ſlight and unſtable a thing is a multitude, and ſo ſoon altered. At his coming to *Whitehall*, he had a great Court about him. Even the Papiſts crept out of their lurking holes, and appeared at Court with much aſſurance. The King himſelf began to take heart. And both at *Feverſham* and now at *Whitehall*, he talked in his ordinary high ſtrain, juſtifying all he had done. Only he ſpoke a little doubtfully of the buſineſs of *Magdalen* College. But when he came to reflect on the ſtate of his affairs, he ſaw it was ſo broken, that nothing was now left to deliberate upon. So he ſent the Earl of *Feverſham* to *Windſor*, without demanding any paſsport; & ordered him to deſire the Prince to come to St. *James*'s, to conſult with him of the beſt way for ſettling the Nation.

WHEN the news of what had paſt at *London* came to *Windſor*, the Prince thought the Privy Council had not uſed him well, who, after they had ſent to him to take the government upon him, had made this ſtep without conſulting him. Now the ſcene was altered, and new counſels were to be taken. The Prince heard the opinions, not only of thoſe who had come along with him, but of ſuch of the Nobility as were now come to him,

him, among whom the Marquis of *Hallifax* was one. All agreed, that it was not convenient that the King ſhould ſtay at *Whitehall*. Neither the King, nor the Prince, nor the City, could have been ſafe if they had been ſo near one another. Tumults would probably have ariſen out of it. The guards, and the officious flatterers, of the two Courts, would have been unquiet neighbours. It was thought neceſſary to ſtick to the point of the King's deſerting his people, and not to give up that, by entring upon any treaty with him. And ſince the Earl of *Feverſham*, who had commanded the Army againſt the Prince, was come without a paſſport, he was for ſome days put in arreſt. 1688.

IT was a tender point how to diſpoſe of the King's perſon. Some propoſed rougher methods: The keeping him a priſoner, at leaſt till the Nation was ſettled, and till *Ireland* was ſecured. It was thought, his being kept in cuſtody, would be ſuch a tie on all his party, as would oblige them to ſubmit, and be quiet. *Ireland* was in great danger: And his reſtraint might oblige the Earl of *Tirconnell* to deliver up the government, and to diſarm the Papiſts, which would preſerve that Kingdom, and the Proteſtants in it. But, becauſe it might raiſe too much compaſſion, and perhaps ſome diſorder, if the King ſhould be kept in reſtraint within the Kingdom, therefore the ſending him to *Breda* was propoſed. The Earl of *Clarendon* preſſed this vehemently, on the account of the *Iriſh* Proteſtants, as the Prince himſelf told me: For

1688. thoſe that gave their opinions in this matter did it ſecretly, and in confidence to his Highneſs. The Prince ſaid, he could not deny, but that this might be good and wiſe advice: But it was that to which he could not hearken: He was ſo far ſatisfied with the grounds of this expedition, that he could act againſt the King in a fair and open war: But for his perſon, now that he had him in his power, he could not put ſuch a hardſhip on him, as to make him a priſoner: And he knew the Princeſs's temper ſo well, that he was ſure ſhe would never bear it: Nor did he know what diſputes it might raiſe, or what effect it might have upon the Parliament that was to be called. He was firmly reſolved never to ſuffer any thing to be done againſt his perſon: He ſaw it was neceſſary to ſend him out of *London*: And he would order a guard to attend upon him, who ſhould only defend and protect his perſon, but not reſtrain him in any ſort.

A reſolution was taken of ſending the Lords *Halifax*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Delamere*, to *London*, who were firſt to order the *Engliſh* guards that were about the Court to be drawn off, and ſent to quarters out of town: And, when that was done, the Count of *Solms* with the *Dutch* guards was to come and take all the poſts about the Court. This was obeyed without any reſiſtance or diſorder, but not without much murmuring. It was midnight before all was ſettled. And then theſe Lords ſent to the Earl of *Middleton*, to deſire him to let the King know, that

that they had a meſſage to deliver to him from the Prince. He went in to the King; and ſent them word from him, that they might come with it immediately. They came, and found him abed. They told him, the neceſſity of affairs required, that the Prince ſhould come preſently to *London*: And he thought, it would conduce to the ſafety of the King's perſon, and the quiet of the town, that he ſhould retire to ſome houſe out of town: And they propoſed *Ham*. The King ſeemed much dejected, and asked, if it muſt be done immediately. They told him, he might take his reſt firſt: And they added, that he ſhould be attended by a guard, who ſhould only guard his perſon, but ſhould give him no ſort of diſturbance. Having ſaid this they withdrew. The Earl of *Middleton* came quickly after them, and asked them, if it would not do as well, if the King ſhould go to *Rocheſter*; for ſince the Prince was not pleaſed with his coming up from *Kent*, it might be perhaps acceptable to him, if he ſhould go thither again. It was very viſible, that this was propoſed in order to a ſecond eſcape. 1688.

THEY promiſed to ſend word immediately to the Prince of *Orange*, who lay that night at *Sion*, within eight miles of *London*. He very readily conſented to it. And the King went next day to *Rocheſter*, having ordered all that which is called the moving Wardrobe to be ſent before him, the Count of *Solms* ordering every thing to be done, as the King deſired. A guard went with him

The Prince came to *London*, and the King went to *Rocheſter*.

1688. that left him at full liberty, and paid him rather more reſpect than his own guards had done of late. Moſt of that body, as it happen'd, were Papiſts. So when he went to Maſs, they went in, and aſſiſted very reverently. And, when they were asked, how they could ſerve in an expedition that was intended to deſtroy their own religion? one of them anſwered, his ſoul was God's, but his ſword was the Prince of *Orange*'s. The King was ſo much delighted with this anſwer, that he repeated it to all that came about him. On the ſame day the Prince came to St. *James*'s. It happen'd to be a very rainy day. And yet great numbers came to ſee him. But, after they had ſtood long in the wet, he diſappointed them: For he, who neither loved ſhews nor ſhoutings, went thro' the park. And even this trifle helped to ſet peoples ſpirits on edge.

THE Revolution was thus brought about, with the univerſal applauſe of the whole Nation: Only theſe laſt ſteps began to raiſe a fermentation. It was ſaid, here was an unnatural thing, to waken the King out of his ſleep, in his own Palace, and to order him to go out of it, when he was ready to ſubmit to every thing. Some ſaid, he was now a priſoner, and remembred the ſaying of King *Charles* the firſt, that the priſons & the graves of Princes lay not far diſtant from one another: The perſon of the King was now ſtruck at, as well as his government: And this ſpecious undertaking would now appear to be only a diſguiſed and deſigned uſurpation.

Theſe

These things began to work on great num- 1688.
bers. And the posting the *Dutch* guards, where the *English* guards had been, gave a general disgust to the whole *English* Army. They indeed hated the *Dutch* besides, on the account of the good order & strict discipline they were kept under; which made them to be as much beloved by the Nation, as they were hated by the soldiery. The Nation had never known such an inoffensive march of an Army. And the peace and order of the suburbs, and the freedom of markets in and about *London*, was so carefully maintained, that in no time fewer disorders had been committed, than were heard of this winter.

NONE of the Papists or Jacobites were insulted in any sort. The Prince had ordered me, as we came along, to take care of the Papists, & to secure them from all violence. When he came to *London*, he renewed these orders, which I executed with so much zeal and care, that I saw all the complaints that were brought me fully redressed. When we came to *London* I procured passports for all that desired to go beyond sea. Two of the Popish Bishops were put in *Newgate*. I went thither in the Prince's name. I told them, the Prince would not take upon him yet to give orders about prisoners: As soon as he did that, they should feel the effects of it. But in the mean while I ordered them to be well used, and to be taken care of, and that their friends might be admitted to come to them. So truly did I pursue the principle of moderation, even towards those

1688. from whom nothing of that ſort was to be expected.

The Prince was welcomed by all ſorts of people.

NOW that the Prince was come, all the Bodies about the town came to welcome him. The Biſhops came the next day. Only the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, tho' he had once agreed to it, yet would not come. The Clergy of *London* came next. The City, and a great many other Bodies, came likewiſe, and expreſſed a great deal of joy for the deliverance wrought for them by the Prince's means. Old Serjeant *Maynard* came with the men of the law. He was then near ninety, and yet he ſaid the livelieſt thing that was heard of on that occaſion. The Prince took notice of his great age, and ſaid, that he had out-lived all the men of the law of his time: He anſwered, he had like to have out-lived the law it ſelf, if his Highneſs had not come over.

Conſultations about the ſettlement of the Nation.

THE firſt thing to be done after the compliments were over, was to conſider how the Nation was to be ſettled. The Lawyers were generally of opinion, that the Prince ought to declare himſelf King, as *Henry* the ſeventh had done. This, they ſaid, would put an end to all diſputes, which might otherwiſe grow very perplexing and tedious: And, they ſaid, he might call a Parliament which would be a legal aſſembly, if ſummoned by the King in fact, tho' his title was not yet recognized. This was plainly contrary to his Declaration, by which the ſettlement of the Nation was referred to a Parliament: Such a ſtep would make all that the Prince had hitherto done paſs for an aſpiring ambition, only

only to raiſe himſelf: And it would diſguſt 1688.
thoſe who had been hitherto the beſt affected to his deſigns; and make them leſs concerned in the quarrel, if, inſtead of ſtaying till the Nation ſhould offer him the Crown, he would aſſume it as a conqueſt. Theſe reaſons determined the Prince againſt that propoſition. He called all the Peers, and the members of the three laſt Parliaments, that were in town, together with ſome of the Citizens of *London*. When theſe met, it was told them, that, in the preſent diſtraction, the Prince deſired their advice about the beſt methods of ſettling the Nation. It was agreed in both theſe Houſes, ſuch as they were, to make an addreſs to the Prince, deſiring him to take the adminiſtration of the government into his hands in the interim. The next propoſition paſt not ſo unanimouſly: For, it being moved that the Prince ſhould be likewiſe deſired to write miſſive letters to the ſame effect, and for the ſame perſons to whom writs were iſſued out for calling a Parliament, that ſo there might be an aſſembly of men in the form of a Parliament, tho' without writs under the Great Seal, ſuch as that was that had called home King *Charles* the ſecond. To this the Earl of *Nottingham* objected, that ſuch a Convention of the States could be no legal aſſembly, unleſs ſummoned by the King's writ. Therefore he moved, that an addreſs might be made to the King, to order the writs to be iſſued out. Few were of his mind. The matter was carried the other way: And orders were given for thoſe letters to be ſent round the Nation.

1688. THE King continued a week at *Rocheſter*. And both he himſelf, and every body elſe, ſaw that he was at full liberty, and that the guard about him put him under no ſort of reſtraint. Many that were zealous for his intereſts went to him, and preſſed him to ſtay, and to ſee the iſſue of things: A party would appear for him: Good terms would be got for him: And things would be brought to a reaſonable agreement. He was much diſtracted between his own inclinations, and the importunities of his friends. The Queen, hearing what had happen'd, writ a moſt vehement letter to him, preſſing his coming over, remembring him of his promiſe, which ſhe charged on him in a very earneſt, if not in an imperious ſtrain. This letter was intercepted. I had an account of it from one that read it. The Prince ordered it to be conveyed to the King: And that determined him. So he gave ſecret orders to prepare a veſſel for him; and drew a paper, which he left on his table, reproaching the Nation for their forſaking him. He declared, that tho' he was going to ſeek for foreign aid to reſtore him to his Throne, yet he would not make uſe of it to overthrow either the religion eſtabliſhed, or the laws of the land. And ſo he left *Rocheſter* very ſecretly, on the laſt day of this memorable year, and got ſafe over to *France*.

The King went over into France.

The affairs of Scotland.

BUT, before I enter into the next year, I will give ſome account of the affairs of *Scotland*. There was no force left there, but a very ſmall one, ſcarce able to defend the Caſtle

Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, of which the Duke of *Gordon* was Governor. He was a Papiſt; but had neither the ſpirit, nor the courage, which ſuch a poſt required at that time. As ſoon as the news came to *Scotland* of the King's deſertion, the rabble got together there, as they had done in *London*. They broke into all Popiſh Chapels, and into the Church of Holy Rood Houſe, which had been adorned at a great charge to be a Royal Chapel, particularly for the order of St. *Andrew* and the *Thiſtle*, which the King had reſolved to ſet up in *Scotland* in imitation of the order of the Garter in *England*. They defaced it quite, and ſeized on ſome that were thought great delinquents, in particular on the Earl of *Perth*, who had diſguiſed himſelf, and had got aboard a ſmall veſſel: But he was ſeized on, and put in priſon. The whole Kingdom, except only the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, declared for the Prince, and received his Declaration for that Kingdom with great joy. This was done in the North very unanimouſly, by the Epiſcopal, as well as by the Preſbyterian party. But in the Weſtern Counties, the Preſbyterians, who had ſuffered much in a courſe of many years, thought that the time was now come, not only to procure themſelves eaſe and liberty, but to revenge themſelves upon others. They generally broke in upon the Epiſcopal Clergy with great inſolence and much cruelty. They carried them about the pariſhes in a mock proceſſion: They tore their gowns, and drove them from their Churches and houſes. Nor did they treat thoſe of them, who 1688.

1688. had appeared very zealously against Popery, with any distinction. The Bishops of that Kingdom had writ a very indecent letter to the King, upon the news of the Prince's being blown back by the storm, full of injurious expressions towards the Prince, expressing their abhorrence of his design: And, in conclusion, they wished that the King might have the necks of his enemies. This was sent up as a pattern to the *English* Bishops, and was printed in the *Gazette*. But they did not think fit to copy after it in *England*. The Episcopal party in *Scotland* saw themselves under a great cloud: So they resolved all to adhere to the Earl of *Dundee*, who had served some years in *Holland*, and was both an able Officer, and a man of good parts, and of some very valuable vertues: But, as he was proud and ambitious, so he had taken up a most violent hatred of the whole Presbyterian party, and had executed all the severest orders against them with great rigour; even to the shooting many on the highway, that refused the oath required of them. The Presbyterians looked on him, as their most implacable enemy: And the Episcopal party trusted most entirely to him. Upon the Prince's coming to *London*, the Duke of *Hamilton* called a meeting of all the men of Quality of the *Scottish* Nation then in town: And these made an address to the Prince with relation to *Scotland*, almost in the same terms in which the *English* address was conceived. And now the administration of the government of the whole

whole isle of *Britain* was put in the Prince's hands. 1688.

The prospect from *Ireland* was more dreadful. *Tyrconnell* gave out new commissions for levying thirty thousand men. And reports were spread about that Island, that a general massacre of the Protestants was fixed to be in *November*. Upon which the Protestants began to run together for their common defence, both in *Munster* and in *Ulster*. They had no great strength in *Munster*. They had been disarmed, and had no store of ammunition for the few arms that were left them. So they despaired of being able to defend themselves, and came over to *England* in great numbers, and full of dismal apprehensions for those they had left behind them. They moved earnestly, that a speedy assistance might be sent to them. In *Ulster* the Protestants had more strength: But they wanted a head. The Lords of *Grenard* and *Mountjoy*, who were the chief military men among them in whom they confided most, kept still such measures with *Tyrconnell*, that they would not take the conduct of them. Two towns, that had both very little defence about them, and a very small store of provisions within them, were by the rashness or boldness of some brave young men secured: So that they refused to receive a Popish garrison, or to submit to *Tyrconnell*'s orders. These were *London-Derry*, and *Iniskilling*. Both of them were advantageously situated. *Tyrconnell* sent troops into the North to reduce the country. Upon which great numbers fled into those places, The affairs of *Ireland*.

1688. places, and brought in provisions to them. And so they resolved to defend themselves, with a firmness of courage that cannot be enough admired: For when they were abandoned, both by the Gentry and the military men, those two small unfurnished and unfortified places, resolved to stand to their own defence, and at all perils to stay till supplies should come to them from *England*. I will not enlarge more upon the affairs of that Kingdom; both because I had no occasion to be well informed about them, and because Dr. *King*, now Archbishop of *Dublin*, wrote a copious history of the government of *Ireland* during this reign, which is so well received, and so universally acknowledged to be as truly as it is finely written, that I refer my reader to the account of those matters, which is fully and faithfully given by that learned and zealous Prelate.

1689. AND now I enter upon the year 1689. In which the two first things to be considered, before the Convention could be brought together, were, the settling the *English* Army, and the affairs of *Ireland*. As for the Army, some of the Bodies, those chiefly that were full of Papists, and of men ill affected, were to be broken. And, in order to that, a loan was set on foot in the City, for raising the money that was to pay their arrears at their disbanding, and for carrying on the pay of the *English* and *Dutch* Armies till the Convention should meet, and settle the Nation. This was the great distinction of those who were well affected to the Prince: For, whereas those

those who were ill affected to him refused to join in the loan, pretending there was no certainty of their being repayed; the others did not doubt but the Convention would pay all that was advanced in so great an exigence, and so they subscribed liberally, as the occasion required. 1689.

AS for the affairs of *Ireland*, there was a great variety of opinions among them. Some thought, that *Ireland* would certainly follow the fate of *England*. This was managed by an artifice of *Tyrconnell*'s, who, what by deceiving, what by threatning the eminentest Protestants in *Dublin*, got them to write over to *London*, and give assurances that he would deliver up *Ireland*, if he might have good terms for himself, and for the *Irish*. The Earl of *Clarendon* was much depended on by the Protestants of *Ireland*, who made all their applications to the Prince by him. Those, who were employed by *Tyrconnell* to deceive the Prince, made their applications by Sir *William Temple*, who had a long and well established credit with him. They said, *Tyrconnell* would never lay down the government of *Ireland*, unless he was sure that the Earl of *Clarendon* was not to succeed: He knew his peevishness and spite, and that he would take severe revenges for what he thought had been done to himself, if he had them in his power: And therefore he would not treat, till he was assured of that. Upon this the Prince did avoid the speaking to the Earl of *Clarendon* of those matters. And then he, who had possessed himself in his expectation of that post, seeing

1689. seeing the Prince thus shut him out of the hopes of it, became a most violent opposer of the new settlement. He reconciled himself to King *James*: And has been ever since one of the hottest promoters of his interest of any in the Nation. *Temple* entred into a management with *Tyrconnell*'s agents, who, it is very probable, if things had not taken a great turn in *England*, would have come to a composition. Others thought, that the leaving *Ireland* in that dangerous state, might be a mean to bring the Convention to a more speedy settlement of *England*; and that therefore the Prince ought not to make too much haste to relieve *Ireland*. This advice was generally believed to be given by the Marquis of *Halifax*: And it was like him. The Prince did not seem to apprehend enough the consequences of the revolt of *Ireland*; and was much blamed for his slowness in not preventing it in time.

The Prince in treaty with the Earl of *Tyrconnell*.

THE truth was, he did not know whom to trust. A general discontent, next to mutiny, began, to spread it self thro' the whole *English* Army. The turn, that they were now making from him, was almost as quick as that which they had made to him. He could not trust them. Probably, if he had sent any of them over, they would have joined with *Tyrconnell*. Nor could he well send over any of his *Dutch* troops. It was to them that he chiefly trusted, for maintaining the quiet of *England*. Probably the *English* Army would have become more insolent, if the *Dutch* force had been considerably diminished. And the

the King's magazins were ſo exhauſted, that till new ſtores were provided, there was very little ammunition to ſpare. The raiſing new troops was a work of time. There was no ſhip of war in thoſe ſeas, to ſecure the tranſport. And to ſend a ſmall company of Officers with ſome ammunition, which was all that could be done on the ſudden, ſeemed to be an expoſing them to the enemy. Theſe conſiderations made him more eaſy to entertain a propoſition that was made to him, as was believed, by the *Temples*; (for Sir *William* had both a brother and a ſon that made then a conſiderable figure) which was to ſend over Lieutenant General *Hamilton*, one of the Officers that belonged to *Ireland*. He was a Papiſt, but was believed to be a man of honour: And he had certainly great credit with the Earl of *Tyrconnell*. He had ſerved in *France* with great reputation, and had a great intereſt in all the *Iriſh*, and was now in the Prince's hands; and had been together with a body of *Iriſh* ſoldiers, whom the Prince kept for ſome time as priſoners in the iſle of *Wight*; whom he gave afterwards to the Emperor, tho', as they paſſed thro' *Germany*, they deſerted in great numbers, and got into *France*. *Hamilton* was a ſort of priſoner of war. So he undertook to go over to *Ireland*, and to prevail with the Earl of *Tyrconnell* to deliver up the government; and promiſed, that he would either bring him to it, or that he would come back, and give an account of his negotiation. This ſtep had a very ill effect: For before *Hamilton* came to *Dublin*, the 1689.

1689. the Earl of *Tyrconnell* was in ſuch deſpair, looking on all as loſt, that he ſeemed to be very near a full reſolution of entring on a treaty, to get the beſt terms that he could. But *Hamilton*'s coming changed him quite. He repreſented to him, that things were turning faſt in *England* in favour of the King: So that, if he ſtood firm, all would come round again. He ſaw, that he muſt ſtudy to manage this ſo dextrouſly, as to gain as much time as he could, that ſo the Prince might not make too much haſte, before a Fleet and ſupplies might come from *France*. So ſeveral letters were writ over by the ſame management, giving aſſurances that the Earl of *Tyrconnell* was fully reſolved to treat and ſubmit. And, to carry this further, two Commiſſioners were ſent from the Council-board to *France*. The one was a zealous Proteſtant, the other was a Papiſt. Their inſtructions were, to repreſent to the King the neceſſity of *Ireland*'s ſubmitting to *England*. The Earl of *Tyrconnell* pretended, that in honour he could do no leſs than diſengage himſelf to his maſter, before he laid down the government. Yet he ſeemed reſolved not to ſtay for an anſwer, or a conſent; but, that, as ſoon as this meſſage was delivered, he would ſubmit upon good conditions: And for theſe, he knew, he would have all that he asked. With this management he gained his point, which was much time. And he now fancied, that the honour of reſtoring the King would belong chiefly to himſelf. Thus *Hamilton*, by breaking his own faith, ſecured the Earl of *Tyrconnell*

to

to the King: And this gave the beginning to the war of *Ireland*. *Mountjoy*, the Proteſtant Lord that was ſent to *France*, inſtead of being heard to deliver his meſſage, was clapt up in the *Baſtille*; which, ſince he was ſent in the name of a Kingdom, was thought a very diſhonourable thing, and contrary to the law of Nations. Thoſe who had adviſed the ſending over *Hamilton* were now much out of countenance: And the Earl of *Clarendon* was a loud declaimer againſt it. It was believed, that it had a terrible effect on Sir *William Temple*'s ſon, who had raiſed in the Prince a high opinion of *Hamilton*'s honour. Soon after that, he, who had no other viſible cauſe of melancholy, beſides this, went in a boat on the *Thames*, near the Bridge, where the river runs moſt impetuouſly; and leaped into the river, and was drowned. 1689.

THE ſitting of the Convention was now very near. And all men were forming their ſchemes, and fortifying their party all they could. The elections were managed fairly all *England* over. The Prince did in no ſort interpoſe in any recommendation, directly or indirectly. Three parties were formed about the town. The one was for calling back the King, and treating with him for ſuch ſecurities to religion and the laws, as might put them out of the danger for the future of a Diſpenſing or Arbitrary Power. Theſe were all of the high Church party, who had carried the point of Submiſſion and Non-reſiſtance ſo far, that they thought nothing leſs than this could conſiſt with their duty and their oaths. When The Convention met.

1689. it was objected to them, that, according to those notions that they had been possessed with, they ought to be for calling the King back without conditions: When he came, they might indeed offer him their petitions, which he might grant or reject as he pleased: But that the offering him conditions, before he was recalled, was contrary to their former doctrine of unconditioned allegiance. They were at such a stand upon this objection, that it was plain, they either spoke of conditions in compliance with the humour of the Nation; or that, with relation to their particular interest, nature was so strong in them, that it was too hard for their doctrine.

Some are for a Prince Regent.

WHEN this notion was tossed and talked of about the town, so few went into it, that the party which supported it went over to the scheme of a second party; which was, that King *James* had by his ill administration of the government brought himself into an incapacity of holding the exercise of the sovereign authority any more in his own hand: But, as in the case of lunaticks, the right still remained in him: Only the guardianship, or the exercise, of it was to be lodged with a Prince Regent: So that the right of sovereignty should be owned to remain still in the King, and that the exercise of it should be vested in the Prince of *Orange* as Prince Regent. A third party was for setting King *James* quite aside, and for setting the Prince on the Throne.

WHEN the Convention was opened on the twenty fourth of *January*, the Archbishop came

came not to take his place among them. He 1688.
resolved neither to act for nor againſt the King's intereſt; which, conſidering his high poſt, was thought very unbecoming. For if he thought, as by his behaviour afterwards it ſeems he did; that the Nation was running into treaſon, rebellion, and perjury, it was a ſtrange thing to ſee one, who was at the head of the Church, ſit ſilent all the while that this was in debate, and not once ſo much as declare his opinion by ſpeaking, voting, or proteſting, not to mention the other Eccleſiaſtical methods that certainly became his character. But he was a poor ſpirited, and fearful man; and acted a very mean part in all this great tranſaction. The Biſhop's Bench was very full, as were alſo the Benches of the Temporal Lords. The Earls of *Nottingham*, *Clarendon*, and *Rocheſter*, were the men that managed the debates in favour of a Regent, in oppoſition to thoſe who were for ſetting up another King.

THEY thought, this would ſave the Nation, and yet ſecure the honour of the Church of *England*, and the ſacredneſs of the Crown. It was urged, that if, upon any pretence whatſoever, the Nation might throw off their King, then the Crown muſt become precarious, and the power of judging the King muſt be in the people. This muſt end in a Commonwealth. A great deal was brought from both the laws and hiſtory of *England*, to prove, that not only the perſon, but the authority of the King was ſacred. The law had indeed provided a remedy of a Regency

1689. for the infancy of our Kings. So, if a King ſhould fall into ſuch errors in his conduct, as ſhewed that he was as little capable of holding the government as an infant was, then the Eſtates of the Kingdom might, upon this parity of the caſe, ſeek to the remedy provided for an infant, and lodge the power with a Regent. But the right was to remain, and to go on in a lineal ſucceſſion: For, if that was once put ever ſo little out of its order, the Crown would in a little time become elective; which might rend the Nation in pieces by a diverſity of elections, and by the different factions that would adhere to the perſons whom they had elected. They did not deny, but that great objections lay againſt the methods that they propoſed. But affairs were brought into ſo deſperate a ſtate by King *James*'s conduct, that it was not poſſible to propoſe a remedy, that might not be juſtly excepted to. But they thought, their expedient would take in the greateſt, as well as the beſt part of the Nation: Whereas all other expedients gratified a Republican party, compoſed of the Diſſenters, and of men of no religion, who hoped now to ſee the Church ruined, and the government ſet upon ſuch a bottom, as that we ſhould have only a titular King; who, as he had his power from the people, ſo ſhould be accountable to them for the exerciſe of it, and ſhould forfeit it at their pleaſure. The much greater part of the Houſe of Lords was for this, and ſtuck long to it: And ſo was about a third part of the Houſe of Commons. The great-

greateſt part of the Clergy declared themſelves for it. 1689.

BUT of thoſe who agreed in this expedient, it was viſible there were two different parties. Some intended to bring King *James* back; and went into this, as the moſt probable way for laying the Nation aſleep, and for overcoming the preſent averſion that all people had to him. That being once done, they reckoned it would be no hard thing, with the help of ſome time, to compaſs the other. Others ſeemed to mean more ſincerely. They ſaid, they could not vote or argue but according to their own principles, as long as the matter was yet entire: But they owned that they had taken up another principle, both from the law and from the hiſtory of *England*; which was, that they would obey and pay allegiance to the King for the time being. They thought a King thus *de facto* had a right to their obedience, and that they were bound to adhere to him, and to defend him, even in oppoſition to him with whom they thought the right did ſtill remain. The Earl of *Nottingham* was the perſon that owned this doctrine the moſt during theſe debates. He ſaid to my ſelf, that tho' he could not argue nor vote, but according to the ſcheme and principles he had, concerning our laws and conſtitution; yet he ſhould not be ſorry to ſee his ſide out voted: And that, tho' he could not agree to the making a King as things ſtood, yet if he found one made, he would be more faithful to him, than thoſe that made him could be according to their own principles.

1689. Others are for another King.

THE third party was made up of those, who thought that there was an original contract between the Kings and the people of *England*; by which the Kings were bound to defend their people, and to govern them according to law, in lieu of which the people were bound to obey and serve the King. The proof of this appeared in the ancient forms of Coronations still observed: By which the people were asked, if they would have that person before them to be their King: And, upon their shouts of consent, the Coronation was gone about. But, before the King was crowned, he was asked, if he would not defend and protect his people, and govern them according to law: And, upon his promising and swearing this, he was crowned: And then homage was done him. And, tho' of late the Coronation has been considered rather as a solemn instalment, than that which gave the King his authority, so that it was become a maxim in law that the King never died, and that the new King was crowned in the right of his succession, yet these forms, that were still continued, shewed what the government was originally. Many things were brought to support this from the *British* and *Saxon* times. It was urged, that *William* the Conqueror was received upon his promising to keep the laws of *Edward* the Confessor, which was plainly the original contract between him and the Nation. This was often renewed by his successors. *Edward* the second, and *Richard* the second, were deposed for breaking these laws: And these depositions

tions were ſtill good in law, ſince they were not reverſed, nor was the right of depoſing them ever renounced or diſowned. Many things were alledged; from what had paſt during the Barons wars, for confirming all this. Upon which I will add one particular circumſtance, that the original of King *John*'s *Magna Charta*, with his Great Seal to it, was then given to me by a Gentleman that found it among his Father's papers, but did not know how he came by it: And it is ſtill in my hands. It was ſaid in this argument, what did all the limitations of the Regal Power ſignify, if upon a King's breaking thro' them all, the people had not a right to maintain their laws, and to preſerve their conſtitution? It was indeed confeſſed, that this might have ill conſequences, and might be carried too far. But the denying this right in any caſe whatſoever, did plainly deſtroy all liberty, and eſtabliſh tyranny. The preſent alteration propoſed would be no precedent, but to the like caſe. And it was fit that a precedent ſhould be made for ſuch occaſions; if thoſe of *Edward* the ſecond, and *Richard* the ſecond, were not acknowledged to be good ones. It was ſaid, that, if King *James* had only broken ſome laws, and done ſome illegal acts, it might be juſtly urged, that it was not reaſonable on account of theſe to carry ſeverities too far. But he had broken thro' the laws in many publick and avowed inſtances: He had ſet up an open treaty with *Rome*: He had ſhaken the whole ſettlement of *Ireland*; and had put that Iſland, 1689.

Original of *Magna Charta*.

1689. and the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants that were there, in the power of the *Iriſh*: The Diſpenſing Power took away not only thoſe laws to which it was applied, but all other laws whatſoever by the precedent it had ſet, and by the conſequences that followed upon it: By the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion he had invaded the liberty of the Church, and ſubjected the Clergy to meer will and pleaſure: And all was concluded by his deſerting his people, and flying to a foreign power, rather than ſtay and ſubmit to the determinations of a free Parliament. Upon all which it was inferred, that he had abdicated the government, and had left the Throne vacant: Which therefore ought now to be filled, that ſo the Nation might be preſerved, and the Regal government continued in it.

And againſt a Regency.

AS to the propoſition for a Prince Regent, it was argued, that this was as much againſt Monarchy, or rather more, than what they moved for. If a King's ill government did give the people a right in any caſe to take his power from him, and to lodge it with another, owning that the right to it remained ſtill with him, this might have every whit as bad conſequences, as the other ſeemed to have: For recourſe might be had to this violent remedy too often, and too raſhly. By this propoſition of a Regent, here were to be upon the matter two Kings at the ſame time: One with the title; and another with the power of a King. This was both more illegal, and more unſafe, than the method they propoſed. The law of *England* had ſettled

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the point of the ſubjects ſecurity in obeying the King in poſſeſſion, in the ſtatute made by *Henry* the ſeventh. So every man knew he was ſafe under a King, and ſo would act with zeal and courage. But all ſuch as ſhould act under a Prince Regent, created by this Convention, were upon a bottom that had not the neceſſary forms of law for it. All that was done by them would be thought null and void in law: So that no man could be ſafe that acted under it. If the oaths to King *James* were thought to be ſtill binding, the Subjects were by theſe not only bound to maintain his title to the Crown, but all his prerogatives and powers. And therefore it ſeemed abſurd to continue a government in his name, and to take oaths ſtill to him, when yet all the power was taken out of his hands. This would be an odious thing, both before God and the whole world, and would caſt a reproach on us at preſent, and bring certain ruin for the future on any ſuch mixed and unnatural ſort of government. Therefore, if the oaths were ſtill binding, the Nation was ſtill bound by them, not by halves, but in their whole extent. It was ſaid, that, if the government ſhould be carried on in King *James*'s name, but in other hands, the body of the Nation would conſider him as the perſon that was truly their King. And if any ſhould plot or act for him, they could not be proceeded againſt for high treaſon, as conſpiring againſt the King's perſon or government; when it would be viſible, that they were only deſigning to preſerve his perſon, and to 1689.

1689. restore him to his government. To proceed against any, or to take their lives for such practices, would be to add murder to perjury. And it was not to be supposed, that Juries would find such men guilty of treason. In the weakness of infancy, a Prince Regent was in law the same person with the King, who had not yet a will: And it was to be presumed, the Prince Regent's will was the King's will. But that could not be applied to the present case; where the King and the Regent must be presumed to be in a perpetual struggle, the one to recover his power, the other to preserve his authority. These things seemed to be so plainly made out in the debate, that it was generally thought that no man could resist such force of argument, but those who intended to bring back King *James*. And it was believed, that those of his party, who were looked on as men of conscience, had secret orders from him to act upon this pretence; since otherwise they offered to act clearly in contradiction to their own oaths and principles.

BUT those who were for continuing the government, and only for changing the persons, were not at all of a mind. Some among them had very different views and ends from the rest. These intended to take advantage from the present conjuncture, to depress the Crown, to render it as much precarious and elective as they could, and to raise the power of the people upon the ruine of Monarchy. Among those some went so far as to say, that the whole government

was

was dissolved. But this appeared a bold and dangerous assertion: For that might have been carried so far, as to infer from it, that all men's properties, honours, rights and franchises, were dissolved. Therefore it was thought safer to say, that King *James* had dissolved the tie that was between him and the Nation. Others avoided going into new speculations, or schemes of government. They thought it was enough to say, that in extream cases all obligations did cease; and that in our present circumstances the extremity of affairs, by reason of the late ill government, and by King *James*'s flying over to the enemy of the Nation, rather than submit to reasonable terms, had put the people of *England* on the necessity of securing themselves upon a legal bottom. It was said, that tho' the vow of marriage was made for term of life, and without conditions expressed, yet a breach in the tie it self sets the innocent party at liberty. So a King, who had his power both given him and defined by the law, and was bound to govern by law, when he set himself to break all laws, and in conclusion deserted his people, did, by so doing, set them at liberty to put themselves in a legal and safe state. There was no need of fearing ill consequences from this. Houses were pulled down or blown up in a fire: And yet men found themselves safe in their houses. In extream dangers the common sense of mankind would justify extream remedies; tho' there was no special provision that directed to them, or allowed of them. 1689.

There-

1689. Therefore, they ſaid, a Nation's ſecuring it ſelf againſt a King, who was ſubverting the government, did not expoſe Monarchy, nor raiſe a popular authority, as ſome did tragically repreſent the matter.

THERE were alſo great diſputes about the original contract: Some denying there was any ſuch thing, and asking where it was kept, and how it could be come at. To this others anſwered, that it was implied in a legal government: Tho' in a long tract of time, and in dark ages, there was not ſuch an explicit proof of it to be found. Yet many hints from lawbooks and hiſtories were brought to ſhew, that the Nation had always ſubmitted, and obeyed in conſideration of their laws, which were ſtill ſtipulated to them.

THERE were alſo many debates on the word *abdicate*: For the Commons came ſoon to a reſolution, that King *James*, by breaking the original contract, and by withdrawing himſelf, had abdicated the government; and that the Throne was thereby become vacant. They ſent this vote to the Lords, and prayed their concurrence. Upon which many debates and conferences aroſe: At laſt it came to a free conference, in which, according to the ſenſe of the whole Nation, the Commons had clearly the advantage on their ſide. The Lords had ſome more colour for oppoſing the word *abdicate*, ſince that was often taken in a ſenſe that imported the full purpoſe and conſent of him that abdicated; which could not be pretended in this caſe. But there were good authorities brought, by which

which it appeared, that when a perſon did a thing upon which his leaving any office ought to follow, he was ſaid to abdicate. But this was a critical diſpute: And it ſcarce became the greatneſs of that aſſembly, or the importance of the matter. 1689.

IT was a more important debate, whether, ſuppoſing King *James* had abdicated, the Throne could be declared vacant. It was urged, that, by the law, the King did never die; but that with the laſt breath of the dying King the Regal authority went to the next heir. So it was ſaid, that, ſuppoſing King *James* had abdicated, the Throne was (*ipſo facto*) filled in that inſtant by the next heir. This ſeemed to be proved by the heirs of the King being ſworn to in the oath of allegiance; which oath was not only made perſonally to the King, but likewiſe to his heirs and ſucceſſors. Thoſe who inſiſted on the Abdication ſaid, that, if the King diſſolved the tie between him & his ſubjects to himſelf, he diſſolved their tie likewiſe to his poſterity. An heir was one that came in the room of a perſon that was dead; it being a maxim that no man can be the heir of a living man. If therefore the King had fallen from his own right, as no heir of his could pretend to any inheritance from him, as long as he was alive, ſo they could ſucceed to nothing, but to that which was veſted in him at the time of his death. And, as in the caſe of attainder every right that a man was diveſt of before his death was, as it were, annihilated in him; and by conſequence could not paſs to his heirs by his death,

1689. death, not being then in himſelf: So, if a King did let his people free from any tie to himſelf, they muſt be ſuppoſed to be put in a ſtate, in which they might ſecure themſelves; and therefore could not be bound to receive one, who they had reaſon to believe would ſtudy to diſſolve and revenge all they had done. If the principle of ſelf preſervation did juſtify a Nation in ſecuring it ſelf from a violent invaſion, and a total ſubverſion, then it muſt have its full ſcope, to give a real, and not a ſeeming and fraudulent, ſecurity. They did acknowledge, that upon the grounds of natural equity, and for ſecuring the Nation in after times, it was fit to go as near the lineal ſucceſſion as might be: Yet they could not yield that point, that they were ſtrictly bound to it.

Some mov'd to examine the birth of the Prince of Wales.

IT was propoſed, that the birth of the pretended Prince might be examined into. Some preſſed this, not ſo much from an opinion that they were bound to aſſert his right, if it ſhould appear that he was born of the Queen, as becauſe they thonght it would juſtify the Nation, and more particularly the Prince and the two Princeſſes, if an impoſture in that matter could have been proved. And it would have gone far to ſatisfy many of the weaker ſort, as to all the proceeding againſt King *James*. Upon which I was ordered to gather together all the preſumptive proofs that were formerly mentioned, which were all ready to have been made out. It is true, theſe did not amount to a full and legal proof: Yet they ſeemed to be ſuch violent preſumptions, that, when they were

were all laid together, they were more convincing than plain and downright evidence? For that was liable to the ſuſpicion of ſubornation: Whereas the other ſeemed to carry on them very convincing characters of truth and certainty. But, when this matter was in private debated, ſome obſerved, that, as King *James* by going about to prove the truth of the birth, and yet doing it ſo defectively, had really made it more ſuſpicious than it was before; ſo, if there was no clear and poſitive proof made of an impoſture, the pretending to examine into it, and then the not being able to make it out beyond the poſſibility of contradiction, would really give more credit to the thing, than it then had, and inſtead of weakning it, would ſtrengthen the pretenſion of his birth. 1689.

WHEN this debate was propoſed in the Houſe of Lords, it was rejected with indignation. He was now ſent out of *England* to be bred up in *France*, an enemy both to the Nation, and to the eſtabliſhed religion: It was impoſſible for the people of *England* to know, whether he was the ſame perſon that had been carried over, or not: If he ſhould die, another might be put in his room, in ſuch a manner that the Nation could not be aſſured concerning him: The *Engliſh* Nation ought not to ſend into another country for witneſſes to prove that he was their Prince; much leſs receive one upon the teſtimony of ſuch, as were not only aliens, but ought to be preſumed enemies: It was alſo known, that all the perſons, who had been the confi- But it was rejected.

dents

1689. dents in that matter, were conveyed away: So it was impoſſible to come at them, by whoſe means only the truth of that birth could be found out. But while theſe things were fairly debated by ſome, there were others who had deeper and darker deſigns in this matter.

THEY thought, it would be a good ſecurity for the Nation, to have a dormant title to the Crown lie as it were neglected, to oblige our Princes to govern well, while they would apprehend the danger of a revolt to a Pretender ſtill in their eye. *Wildman* thought, it was a deep piece of policy to let this lie in the dark, and undecided. Nor did they think it an ill precedent, that they ſhould ſo neglect the right of ſucceſſion, as not ſo much as to enquire into this matter. Upon all theſe conſiderations no further enquiry was made into it. It is true, this put a plauſible objection in the mouth of all King *James*'s party: Here, they ſaid, an infant was condemned, and denied his right, without either proof or enquiry. This ſtill takes with many in the preſent age. And, that it may not take more in the next, I have uſed more than ordinary care to gather together all the particulars that were then laid before me as to that matter.

Some were for making the Prince King.

THE next thing in debate was, who ſhould fill the Throne. The Marquis of *Hallifax* intended, by his zeal for the Prince's intereſt, to atone for his backwardneſs in not coming early into it: And, that he might get before Lord *Danby*, who was in great credit

credit with the Prince, he moved, that the Crown ſhould be given to the Prince, and to the two Princeſſes after him. Many of the Republican party approved of this: For by it they gained another point: The people in this caſe would plainly elect a King, without any critical regard to the order of ſucceſſion. How far the Prince himſelf entertained this, I cannot tell: But I ſaw it made a great impreſſion on *Bentink*. He ſpoke of it to me, as asking my opinion about it; but ſo, that I plainly ſaw what was his own: For he gave me all the arguments that were offered for it; as that it was moſt natural that the ſovereign power ſhould be only in one perſon; that a man's wife ought only to be his wife; that it was a ſuitable return to the Prince for what he had done for the Nation; that a divided ſovereignty was liable to great inconveniencies: and, tho' there was leſs to be apprehended from the Princeſs of any thing of that kind than from any woman alive, yet all mortals were frail, and might at ſome time or other of their lives be wrought on. 1689.

TO all this I anſwered, with ſome vehemence, that this was a very ill return for the ſteps the Princeſs had made to the Prince three years ago: It would be thought both unjuſt and ungrateful: It would meet with great oppoſition, and give a general ill impreſſion of the Prince, as inſatiable and jealous in his ambition: There was an ill

1689. humour already ſpreading it ſelf thro' the Nation, and thro' the Clergy: It was not neceſſary to encreaſe this; which ſuch a ſtep, as was now propoſed, would do out of meaſure: It would engage the one ſex generally againſt the Prince: And in time they might feel the effects of that very ſenſibly: And, for my own part, I ſhould think my ſelf bound to oppoſe it all I could, conſidering what had paſſed in *Holland* on that head. We talked over the whole thing for many hours, till it was pretty far in the morning. I ſaw he was well inſtructed in the argument: And he himſelf was poſſeſſed with it. So next morning I came to him, and deſired my *congé*. I would oppoſe nothing in which the Prince ſeemed to be concerned, as long as I was his ſervant. And therefore I deſired to be diſengaged, that I might be free to oppoſe this propoſition with all the ſtrength and credit I had. He anſwered me, that I might deſire that when I ſaw a ſtep made: But till then he wiſhed me to ſtay where I was. I heard no more of this; in which the Marquis of *Halliſax* was ſingle among the Peers: For I did not find there was any one of them of his mind; unleſs it was the Lord *Culpepper*, who was a vicious and corrupt man, but made a figure in the debates that were now in the Houſe of Lords, and died about the end of them. Some moved, that the Princeſs of *Orange* might be put in the Throne; and that it might be left to her, to give the Prince

Prince ſuch a ſhare either of dignity or power as ſhe ſhould propoſe, when ſhe was declared Queen. The agents of Princeſs *Anne* began to go about, and to oppoſe any propoſition for the Prince to her prejudice. But ſhe thought fit to diſown them. Dr. *Doughty*, one of her Chaplains, ſpoke to me in her room on the ſubject. But ſhe ſaid to my ſelf, that ſhe knew nothing of it. 1689.

THE propoſition, in which all that were for the filling the Throne agreed at laſt, was, that both the Prince and Princeſs ſhould be made conjunct Sovereins. But, for the preventing of any diſtractions, that the adminiſtration ſhould be ſingly in the Prince. The Princeſs continued all the while in *Holland*, being ſhut in there, during the Eaſt winds, by the freezing of the rivers, and by contrary winds after the thaw came. So that ſhe came not to *England* till all the debates were over. The Prince's enemies gave it out, that ſhe was kept there by order, on deſign that ſhe might not come over to *England* to claim her right. So parties began to be formed, ſome for the Prince, and others for the Princeſs. Upon this the Earl of *Danby* ſent one over to the Princeſs, and gave her an account of the preſent ſtate of that debate: And deſired to know her own ſenſe of the matter; for, if ſhe deſired it, he did not doubt but he ſhould be able to carry it for ſetting her alone on the Throne. She made him a very ſharp anſwer: She ſaid, ſhe was the Prince's wife, and would

1689. never be other, than what ſhe ſhould be in conjunction with him, and under him; and that ſhe would take it extream unkindly, if any, under a pretence of their care of her, would ſet up a divided intereſt between her and the Prince. And, not content with this, ſhe ſent both Lord *Danby*'s letter, and her anſwer, to the Prince. Her ſending it thus to him was the moſt effectual diſcouragement poſſible to any attempt for the future to create a miſunderſtanding or jealouſy between them. The Prince bore this with his uſual phlegm: For he did not expoſtulate with the Earl of *Danby* upon it, but continued ſtill to employ and to truſt him. And afterwards he advanced him, firſt to be a Marquis, and then to be a Duke.

The Prince declared his mind after long ſilence.

DURING all theſe debates, and the great heat with which they were managed, the Prince's own behaviour was very myſterious. He ſtaid at St. *James*'s: He went little abroad: Acceſs to him was not very eaſy. He heard all that was ſaid to him: But ſeldom made any anſwers. He did not affect to be affable, or popular: Nor would he take any pains to gain any one perſon over to his party. He ſaid, he came over, being invited, to ſave the Nation: He had now brought together a free and true repreſentative of the Kingdom: He left it therefore to them to do what they thought beſt for the good of the Kingdom: And, when things were once ſettled, he ſhould

ſhould be well ſatisfied to go back to *Holland* again. Thoſe who did not know him well, and who imagined that a Crown had charms which human nature was not ſtrong enough to reſiſt, looked on all this as an affectation, and as a diſguiſed threatning, which imported, that he would leave the Nation to periſh, unleſs his method of ſettling it was followed. After a reſervedneſs, that had continued ſo cloſe for ſeveral weeks, that no body could certainly tell what he deſired, he called for the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Danby*, and ſome others, to explain himſelf more diſtinctly to them. 1689.

HE told them, he had been till then ſilent, becauſe he would not ſay or do any thing that might ſeem in any ſort to take from any perſon the full freedom of deliberating and voting in matters of ſuch importance: He was reſolved neither to court nor threaten any one: And therefore he had declined to give out his own thoughts. Some were for putting the government in the hands of a Regent: He would ſay nothing againſt it, if it was thought the beſt mean for ſettling their affairs: Only he thought it neceſſary to tell them, that he would not be the Regent: So, if they continued in that deſign, they muſt look out for ſome other perſon to be put in that poſt: He himſelf ſaw what the conſequences of it were like to prove: So he would not accept of it. Others were for putting

1689. the Princeſs ſingly on the Throne, and that he ſhould reign by her courteſy: He ſaid, no man could eſteem a woman more than he did the Princeſs: But he was ſo made, that he could not think of holding any thing by apron-ſtrings: Nor could he think it reaſonable to have any ſhare in the government, unleſs it was put in his perſon, and that for term of life: If they did think it fit to ſettle it otherwiſe, he would not oppoſe them in it: But he would go back to *Holland*, and meddle no more in their affairs. He aſſured them, that whatſoever others might think of a Crown, it was no ſuch thing in his eyes, but that he could live very well, and be well pleaſed without it. In the end he ſaid, that he could not reſolve to accept of a dignity, ſo as to hold it only the life of another: Yet he thought, that the iſſue of Princeſs *Anne* ſhould be preferred, in the ſucceſſion, to any iſſue that he might have by any other wife than the Princeſs. All this he delivered to them in ſo cold and unconcerned a manner, that thoſe, who judged of others by the diſpoſitions that they felt in themſelves, looked on it all as artifice and contrivance.

It was reſolved to put the Prince and Princeſs both in

THIS was preſently told about, as it was not intended to be kept ſecret. And it helped not a little to bring the debates at *Weſtminſter* to a ſpeedy determination. Some were ſtill in doubt with relation to the Princeſs. In ſome it was conſcience: For they




BRITISH
6 JA 76
MUSEUM

they thought the equitable right was in her. Others might be moved by intereſt, ſince, if ſhe ſhould think herſelf wronged, and ill uſed in this matter, ſhe, who was like to outlive the Prince, being ſo much younger and healthier than he was, might have it in her power to take her revenges on all that ſhould concur in ſuch a deſign. Upon this, I, who knew her ſenſe of the matter very perfectly by what had paſſed in *Holland*, as was formerly told, was in a great difficulty. I had promiſed her never to ſpeak of that matter, but by her order. But I preſumed, in ſuch a caſe I was to take orders from the Prince. So I asked him, what he would order me to do. He ſaid, he would give me no orders in that matter, but left me to do as I pleaſed. I looked on this, as the allowing me to let the Princeſs's reſolution in that be known; by which many, who ſtood formerly in ſuſpence, were fully ſatisfied. Thoſe to whom I gave the account of that matter were indeed amazed at it; and concluded, that the Princeſs was either a very good, or a very weak woman. An indifferency for power and rule ſeemed ſo extraordinary a thing, that it was thought a certain character of an exceſs of goodneſs or ſimplicity. At her coming to *England*, ſhe not only juſtified me, but approved of my publiſhing that matter; and ſpoke particularly of it to her ſiſter Princeſs *Anne*. There were other differences in the form of the ſettlement. The Republican

1689. the Throne.

1689. party were at first for deposing King *James* by a formal sentence, and for giving the Crown to the Prince and Princess by as formal an election. But that was over-ruled in the beginning. I have not pursued the relation of the debates according to the order in which they passed, which will be found in the journal of both Houses during the Convention. But, having had a great share my self in the private managing of those debates, particularly with many of the Clergy, and with the men of the most scrupulous and tender consciences, I have given a very full account of all the reasonings on both sides, as that by which the reader may form and guide his own judgment of the whole affair. Many protestations past in the House of Lords, in the progress of the debate. The party for a Regency was for some time most prevailing: And then the protestations were made by the Lords that were for the new settlement. The House was very full: About a hundred and twenty were present. And things were so near an equality, that it was at last carried by a very small majority, of two or three, to agree with the Commons in voting the Abdication, and the Vacancy of the Throne: Against which a great protestation was made; as also against the final vote, by which the Prince and Princess of *Orange* were desired to accept of the Crown, and declared to be King and Queen; which went very hardly. The poor

Bishop

Bishop of *Durham*, who had absconded for some time, and was waiting for a ship to get beyond sea, fearing publick affronts, and had offered to compound by resigning his Bishoprick, was now prevailed on to come, and by voting the new settlement to merit at least a pardon for all that he had done: Which, all things considered, was thought very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the rest of his life and character. 1689.

They drew an Instrument about it.

BUT, before matters were brought to a full conclusion, an enumeration was made of the chief heads of King *James*'s ill government. And in opposition to these, the rights and liberties of the people of *England* were stated. Some officious people studied to hinder this at that time. They thought they had already lost three weeks in their debates: And the doing this, with the exactness that was necessary, would take up more time: Or it would be done too much in a hurry, for matters of so nice a nature. And therefore it was moved, that this should be done more at leisure after the settlement. But that was not hearkned to. It was therefore thought necessary to frame this Instrument so, that it should be like a new *Magna Charta*. In the stating these grievances and rights, the Dispensing Power came to be discussed. And then the power of the Crown to grant a *Non-obstante* to some statutes was objected. Upon opening this, the debate was found

1689. to be ſo intricate, that it was let fall at that time only for diſpatch. But afterwards an act paſt condemning it ſingly. And the power of granting a *Non-obſtante* was for the future taken away. Yet King *James*'s party took great advantage from this; and ſaid, that, tho' the main clamour of the Nation was againſt the Diſpenſing Power, yet when the Convention brought things to a ſettlement, that did not appear to be ſo clear a point as had been pretended: And it was not ſo much as mentioned in this Inſtrument of government: So that, by the confeſſion of his enemies, it appeared to be no unlawful power: Nor was it declared contrary to the liberties of the people of *England*. Whereas, its not being mentioned then was only upon the oppoſition that was made, that ſo more time might not be loſt, nor this Inſtrument be clogged with diſputable points.

The Oaths were altered.

THE laſt debate was, concerning the oaths that ſhould be taken to the King and Queen. Many arguments were taken during the debate from the oaths in the form in which the allegiance was ſworn to the Crown, to ſhew that in a new ſettlement theſe could not be taken. And to this it was always anſwered, that care ſhould be taken, when other things were ſettled, to adjuſt theſe oaths, ſo that they ſhould agree to the new ſettlement. In the oaths, as they were formerly conceived, a previous title ſeemed to be aſſerted, when the King was ſworn to, *as rightful and lawful King*.

King. It was therefore ſaid, that theſe words could not be ſaid of a King who had not a precedent right, but was ſet up by the Nation. So it was moved, that the oaths ſhould be reduced to the ancient ſimplicity, of ſwearing to bear faith and true allegiance to the King and Queen. This was agreed to. And upon this began the notion of a King *de facto*, but not *de jure*. It was ſaid, that according to the common law, as well as the ſtatute in King *Henry* the ſeventh's reign, the ſubjects might ſecurely obey any King that was in poſſeſſion, whether his title was good, or not. This ſeemed to be a doctrine neceſſary for the peace and quiet of mankind, that ſo the ſubjects may be ſafe in every Government, that bringeth them under a ſuperior force, and that will cruſh them, if they do not give a ſecurity for the protection that they enjoy under it. The Lawyers had been always of that opinion, that the people were not bound to examine the titles of their Princes, but were to ſubmit to him that was in poſſeſſion. It was therefore judged juſt and reaſonable, in the beginning of a new government, to make the oaths as general and comprehenſive as might be: For it was thought, that thoſe who once took the oaths to the government, would be after that faithful and true to it. This tenderneſs, which was ſhewed at this time to a ſort of people that had ſhewed very little tenderneſs to men of weak or ill informed conſciences, was afterwards much abuſed by a new explanation, or rather a groſs 1689.

1689. groſs equivocation, as to the ſignification of the words in which the oath was conceived. The true meaning of the words, and the expreſs ſenſe of the impoſers was, that, whether men were ſatisfied or not with the putting the King and Queen on the Throne, yet, now they would be true to them, and defend them. But the ſenſe that many put on them was, that they were only to obey them as Uſurpers, during their uſurpation, and that therefore, as long as they continued in quiet poſſeſſion, they were bound to bear them, and to ſubmit to them: But that it was ſtill lawful for them to aſſiſt King *James*, if he ſhould come to recover his Crown, and that they might act and talk all they could, or durſt, in his favour, as being ſtill their King *de jure*. This was contrary to the plain meaning of the words; *faith, and true allegiance*; and was contrary to the expreſs declaration in the act that enjoined them. Yet it became too viſible, that many in the Nation, and particularly among the Clergy, took the oath in this ſenſe, to the great reproach of their profeſſion. The prevarication of too many in ſo ſacred a matter contributed not a little to fortify the growing Atheiſm of the preſent age. The truth was, the greateſt part of the Clergy had entangled themſelves ſo far with thoſe ſtrange conceits of the divine right of Monarchy, and the unlawfulneſs of reſiſtance in any caſe: And they had ſo engaged themſelves, by aſſerting theſe things ſo often and ſo pu-

The ill ſenſe that was put on the new oath.

publickly, that they did not know how to diſengage themſelves in honour or conſcience. 1689.

A notion was ſtarted, which by its agreement with their other principles had a great effect among them, and brought off the greateſt number of thoſe who came in honeſtly to the new government. This was chiefly managed by Dr. *Lloyd*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, now tranſlated to *Worceſter*. It was laid thus: The Prince had a juſt cauſe of making war on the King. In that moſt of them agreed. In a juſt war, in which an appeal is made to God, ſucceſs is conſidered as the deciſion of heaven. So the Prince's Succeſs againſt King *James* gave him the right of conqueſt over him. And by it all his rights were transferred to the Prince. His ſucceſs was indeed no conqueſt of the Nation; which had neither wronged him, nor reſiſted him. So that, with relation to the people of *England*, the Prince was no conqueror, but a preſerver, and a deliverer, well received, and gratefully acknowledged. Yet with relation to King *James*, and all the right that was before veſted in him, he was, as they thought, a conqueror. By this notion they explained thoſe paſſages of Scripture that ſpeak of God's diſpoſing of Kingdoms, and of pulling down one and ſetting up another, and alſo our Saviour's arguing from the inſcription on the coin, that they ought to render to *Cæſar* the things that were *Cæſar*'s; and St. *Paul*'s charging the *Romans*

1689 *mans* to obey the powers that then were, who were the Emperors that were originally the invaders of publick liberty which they had ſubdued, and had forced the people and Senate of *Rome* by ſubſequent acts to confirm an authority that was ſo ill begun. This might have been made uſe of more juſtly, if the Prince had aſſumed the Kingſhip to himſelf, upon King *James*'s withdrawing; but did not ſeem to belong to the preſent caſe. Yet this had the moſt univerſal effect on the far greater part of the Clergy.

AND now I have ſtated all the moſt material parts of theſe debates, with the fulneſs that I thought became one of the moſt important tranſactions that is in our whole Hiſtory, and by much the moſt important of our time.

The Princeſs came to *England*.

ALL things were now made ready for filling the Throne. And the very night before it was to be done the Princeſs arriv'd ſafely. It had been given out, that ſhe was not well pleaſed with the late tranſaction both with relation to her father and to the preſent ſettlement. Upon which the Prince wrote to her, that it was neceſſary ſhe ſhould appear at firſt ſo chearful, that no body might be diſcouraged by her looks, or be led to apprehend that ſhe was uneaſy by reaſon of what had been done. This made her put on a great air of gaiety when ſhe came to *Whitehall*, and, as may be imagined, had great crouds of all ſorts coming to wait on her. I confeſs, I was one of thoſe


MARIE REINE
D'ANGLETERRE.


BRITISH
6 JA 76
MUSEUM

that cenſured this in my thoughts. I thought a little more ſeriouſneſs had done as well, when ſhe came into her father's Palace, and was to be ſet on his Throne next day. I had never ſeen the leaſt indecency in any part of her deportment before: Which made this appear to me ſo extraordinary, that ſome days after I took the liberty to ask her, how it came that what ſhe ſaw in ſo ſad a revolution, as to her father's perſon, made not a greater impreſſion on her. She took this freedom with her uſual goodneſs. And ſhe aſſured me, ſhe felt the ſenſe of it very lively upon her thoughts. But ſhe told me, that the letters which had been writ to her had obliged her to put on a chearfulneſs, in which ſhe might perhaps go too far, becauſe ſhe was obeying directions, and acting a part which was not very natural to her. This was on the 12. of *February*, being *Shrove Tueſday*. The thirteenth was the day ſet for the two Houſes to come with the offer of the Crown. So here ends the *Interregnum*. 1689.

AND thus I have given the fulleſt and moſt particular account that I could gather of all that paſs'd during this weak, unactive, violent, and ſuperſtitious Reign; in which all regard to the affairs of *Europe* ſeem'd to be laid aſide, and nothing was thought on but the ſpitefull humours of a revengeful *Italian* Lady, and the ill laid, and worſe managed, projects of ſome hot meddling Prieſts, whoſe learning and politicks

1689. ticks were of a piece, the one exposing them to contempt, and the other to ruin; involving in it a Prince, who, if it had not been for his being delivered up to such counsels, might have made a better figure in history. But they managed both themselves and him so ill, that a reign, whose rise was bright and prosperous, was soon set in darkness and disgrace. But I break off here, lest I should seem to aggravate misfortunes, and load the unfortunate too much.

FINIS.

BRITISH
6 JA 76
MUSEUM

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF THE

Principal *Matters* & *Perſons*, mentioned in the Three volumes of this HISTORY.

N. B. By a miſtake of the Printer, it was neceſſary to repeat ſome numbers, viz. *from* 1003. *to* 1024. *but to avoid confuſion thoſe numbers ſo repeated are marked with* (*) *as well in the Book as in this* Index.

A.

ABDICATION of K. *James*, debates about it, *p.* 1372

ABERCORN, Earl of, next Heir to D. *Hamilton*, 53.

ABERDEEN, Earl of, made Chancellor of *Scotland* 905. He proſecutes *Home* with rigour, and why, 907. a breach between him and *Queensberry*, about Ladies not going to Church. 994. he is turned out, 996

ABINGTON, Earl of, goes over to the Prince of *Orange* at *Exeter*. 1328

ACT declaring the Royal prerogative as to Eccleſiaſtical affairs in *Scotland*, ſuppreſs'd by K. *James* I. 27. But paſs'd by K. *Charles* I. againſt the majority, 28. The manner of paſſing *Acts* in Scotland, 181 &c. *Act* reciſſory of all Parliaments ſince 1633. tho' ridiculous & much oppoſed, yet paſs'd. 187. *Act* for reſtoring Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, drawn by *Sharp*. 232. *Act* of indemnity in *Scotland*, with clauſes for fining & incapacitating, 237, 240. *Act* reſtoring the Rights of Patronage, 248. *Act* of indemnity in *England*, made extenſive, & maintain'd, 269 *Act* of uniformity in *England* 300. too ſevere, & had bad effects. 302--304. it was executed with rigour. 314. *Acts* againſt Conventicles 335. *Act* conſtituting

a national Synod in *Scotland*. 336. *Act* offering 20000 Scots to march into *England* 337. *Act* of fining revived in *Scotland*, 353. The five mile *Act*, of the Oxford Parliament. 371

AILOFFE, ſtabs himſelf to prevent juſtice 1051. his ſullen anſwer to K. *James*. 1053

AIRD, ſent by *Leightoun* to preach &c. in the weſtern Counties. 532

St. ALBANS, *Jermyn*, Earl of, deſigned heir to *Antrim*. 59

ALBEMARLE, ſee *Monk*.

ALBEMARLE, Duke of, ſent againſt *Monmouth*. 641

ALBEVILLE, Marquiſs of, his character, 1178. ſent by K. *James* with propoſitions to the Prince of *Orange* and the States, 1181. 2. 3. he threatens to ſeize on the Author, 1213. his memorial to the States about the affair of *Bantam*, 1215. his memorials & deſigns againſt the Author, 1216, 17, 18, 19. reveals the deſigns of the Court of *England* too early and too openly, 1226. his fooliſh conduct. 1288

ALDRICH, Dr. wrote againſt the Papiſts. 1118

ALIBON, a profeſſed Papiſt, made a Judge. 1246

ALTIERI, Cardinal, afterwards Pope, lived ſome years in dotage. 1147

ALVA, The Duke of, ill uſed for his good ſervices, by K *Philippe* II. 562. 1188

St. AMOUR, a famous Janſeniſt, his character. 970

AMSTERDAM, errors committed by that town, 365. 593. 594. 1013

ANABAPTISTS, their character. 1167

ANCRAM, Earl of, father to the E. of *Lothian*. 24

ANCRAM, Lord, his character &c. 635. 6.

ANGLESEY, Earl of, his character, 153. at the reſtoration he manages the *Engliſh* intereſt in *Ireland*, 288. 372. votes for condemning Lord *Strafford*, 860. & for acquiting *Sidney*, 978. makes ſome oppoſition in the act of attainder of the Duke of *Monmouth*. 1064

ANGUS, the Earl of, married the widow of K. *James* IV. 23

ANNE, Princeſs, married to Pr. *George* of *Denmark*. 965. The Pr. of *Hannover* ſent to court her, but recalled, *ibid.* her marriage happy & fruitfull, tho' fatally blaſted, *ibid.* She was ſtedfaſt in her religion & regular in her life, 1201. She endeavoured in vain to be ſatisfyed of the *Queen's* being with child, 1254. She was ſent to *Bath* before the time of the *Queen's* delivery, 1256. Lord *Churchill* undertook ſhe ſhould joyn the Pr. of *Orange*, 1283. She

She was not preſent at the depoſitions made for the birth of the Pr. of *Wales*, 1320. She leaves *London*, accompanied with Lady *Churchill* & conducted by the Biſhop of *London*, 1330. Went to meet the Pr. of *Orange* at *Oxford*, 1341. She diſowns thoſe that oppoſe the propoſitions made for the Pr. of *Orange*, 1379. He declares that her iſſue ſhould be preferred to any iſſue he might have by any ſecond marriage. 1388

ANNESLY, made Earl of *Angleſey*, ſee *Angleſey*.

ANTRIM, the Earl of, Commander of the Iriſh, the main inſtrument of the Rebellion, 54. His correſpondence with the King, 58. the Kings honour ſcandalouſly ſacrificed to his ſafety by the Q. mother & by K. *Charles* II. 60

ARGILE, Earl & Marquis of, 35. one of the chief of the Covenanters, 38. his character, *ibid.* he infuſes jealouſies of the *Hamiltons*, 63. he heads the *Whiggamore* Inſurrection, 64. he is in great credit, & courted by the D. of *Buckingham*, 80. he regards K. *Charles II.*'s offers as ſnares, 87. ſubmits to *Monk*, 89. is one of the *Scots* Commiſſioners, 93. charg'd with being acceſſary to the King's murther, 167. comes up ſecretly to *Whitehall*, and is ſent to the tower, 168. his attainder and defence, 193. 4. 5. he thinks to eſcape, 196. his ſpeech and execution, 199. Diſputes about his Eſtate, 207 8

ARGILE, Earl of, the Son, ſee LORN, againſt illegal proceedings in *Scotland*, and for moderate cenſures, 347. raiſes 1500 men againſt the rebels of *Bothwell* bridge, 388, 543, 644. 740. is reconciled with D. *Lauderdale*, 656, the Duke of *York* ſtrives to gain him, or to ruine him, 890. his anſwer to the Duke, *ibid.* his zeal for the Succeſſion, 891. he excepts againſt a clauſe in the teſt bill, 894. his Explanation of ſome part of the teſt act upon taking it, 899. is committed upon it, 900. tried and condemned, 901. makes his eſcape in diſguiſe, 903. enters into *Monmouth's* ſecrets, 930, 932. 3. 997. 8. deſigns to invade *Scotland*, 1044. and lands there, 1048. but is defeated & taken, 1049. executed upon the old ſentence, 1040. his behaviour, *ibid.* ſee alſo 1221.

ARISTIDES, his unjuſt baniſhment made the *Athenians* lay aſide their oſtraciſm. 247

ARLINGTON, *Bennet* Earl of, his character, 156. truſted with all the ſecrets of State, 411. 487, 489, 550. made Knight of the Garter, & one of the Ca-

bal, 557. sent to treat with the *Dutch*, 584. 5. in the interest of *France*, 588. 605. his dexterous management of the King, 617, 621. 2 3. loses the Duke of *York*'s favour, 627, 643. is attack'd by the Commons, 649 quits his post of Secretary, and is made Lord Chamberlain, *ibid.* he presses the King to make peace with *Holland*, 650, 65 . sent into *Holland* to dive into the Prince of *Orange*'s designs, 669. 670, 671, 2. he reveals the design of abandoning *Tanger*. 1012

ARMAGH, Archbishop of, turn'd out from being Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*. 1086

ARMINIANS, Pr. *Maurice* declares against them, 14. condemned & deprived by the Synod of *Dort*. 15. Reasons why *Barnevelt* espoused their party, 570. Pr. *Maurice* & K. *James I.* both *Arminians* in their opinions, tho' against them by interest, 570, 571. Great zeal of the Ministers in *Holland* against the doctrine of the *Arminians*. 1144

ARMSTRONG, Sir *Thomas*, with the Duke of *Monmouth* at *Shepherd*'s, 926, 942. seiz'd on at *Leyden*, sent over, and executed without a Trial, 987, 8. 9. 990

ARMY, of *Scots* march into *England*, & defeat the *English* Army at *Newburn*, 39. Army of *Irish* led by *Montrose*, defeats that of the *Scots* Covenanters, 54. this Army broke & destroyed. 57

ARMY rais'd by the *Scots*, defeated by *Cromwell* at *Dunbar*, 81. 2. thoughts of raising a new Army, & disputes about admitting all persons to serve in it 89. a body in the *Highlands* stand out for the King, 84. divisions among the chief officers, 89, 90, 91. 2. they send *Drummond* with messages to the King at *Paris*, 92. this unruly Army dispers'd, 93. care taken to manage the *English* Army about the time of the restoration, 136. how disbanded, & a character of that Army, 262. Army of *Highlanders* sent into the West of *Scotland* to live upon free quarter, 738 an Army encamped on *Honslow Heath*, 1169. K. *James*'s Army begin to come over to the Pr. of *Orange* 1328. &c.

ARNAULD, the Jansenist, his violence blamed by the best of his own party. 971

ARNOT, *Rachel*, a great support of the puritan party in *Scotland*, 22

ARRAN, Lord, 843, 883, 1048 1258

ARUNDEL, Lord, privy to *Coleman*'s negociation, 700. made Chancelor by *Oates*'s scheme

ſcheme, 758. Acquits Lord *Stafford*, 860
ASHBY, a Jeſuit. 821
ASHLY-COOPER, 134. ſee Earl of *Shaftsbury*.
ASSOCIATION, propoſed in the Houſe of Commons againſt Papiſts, 850. Aſſociation of thoſe that joyned the Pr. of *Orange*. 1332
ATHENIANS, ſee *Ariſtides*.
ATHOL, Earl & Marquis of, his hereditary hatred to *Argile*'s family, 543. a great friend to Duke *Lauderdale*, 606, 668. He got in one week 1900 L. ſterl. of fines on Conventicles, 610. He ſigned a falſe order to favour *Carſtairs*'s violence againſt *Kirkton* & *Bailie*, 710. he ſends 2400 Men into the Weſt to live upon free Quarter, 738. He goes to Court to complain of *Lauderdale*, 740, 41. *Carſtairs* applies to him as a friend, 763. He diſcovers *Carſtairs*'s villany to the King. 773 4
ATTERBURY, Dr. wrote againſt Popery. 1118
D'AVAUX, *French* Ambaſſador at the Hague, aſhamed of *Albyvilles* weakneſs, 1226. Being hated & traverſed by *Louvois* he could not ſerve his Maſter as before. 1284
AUBIGNY, Lord, had a great hand in K. *Charles* II's changing his religion. 115. 218. married K. *Charles* according to the *Roman* ritual, 284. ſeconds the motion for a Toleration, 317 323, 1023*.

B.

BACON, Sir *Francis*, would have *Scotland* conſidered as a third part of *Great-Britain*. 512
BAILLIE of Jerviſwood, cited before the Council in *Scotland*, and fined in the matter of *Carſtairs* and *Kirkton*, 709. 710. comes up to *London* to acquaint *Monmouth*'s party with the ſtate of affairs there, 930. his character, *ibid.* he is ſeiz'd and brought before the King, and examin'd, 942, 43, 46. 974. impriſon'd and ill uſed, 999, 1000, further proceedings againſt him, 1001. his Execution. 1002
BAILY, one of the leading Preachers among the Presbyterians. 49
BALLAD, lero, lero, lilibulero, what effect it had 1331
BALMERINOCH, Secretary to K. *James* I takes on himſelf that King's Letter to the Pope. 6. ſee *Elphinſton*.
BALMERINOCH, Lord, his Trial, 29, 30, 31. 2. 3. condemned unjuſtly, but pardon'd. 34,
BAMFIELD, Col. helps the Duke of *York* to eſcape. 1027

BANANTINE, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*. 35

BANTAM, in Java, E. Indies, the Engliſh chaced out of that place by the Dutch. 1015

BARCLAY, a high aſſertor of Soverain power. 1247

BARGENY, Lord, unjuſtly impriſoned, 893.4

BARILLON, French Ambaſſador in England, 722 & 1178. ſends to *France* the news of the Prince of *Orange*'s marriage with the D. of *York*'s daughter. 725. was privy to a new ſcheme of government of K. *Charles* II. 1007*. He warned Dr. *Burnet* to look to himſelf, 1096. His advices fatal to K. *James* & to himſelf, 1287.

BARLOW, Biſhop of *Lincoln* maintain'd in Parliament that the Church of *Rome* is idolatrous. 768

BARNEVELT, Advocat Penſionary of *Holland*, illegally condemned & executed, 15, 571. He preſſed the redeeming the Cautionary Towns from K. *James*. 17

St. BARTHOLOMEW's day fixed by the Act of uniformity, compared to St, *Bartholomew*'s day at *Paris* 90 years before, 303

BATES, Dr. named on the ſide of the *Presbyterians* to treat of a comprehenſion. 427

BATH, Earl of, permitted to be in the bedchamber when *Huddleſton* adminiſtred the Sacrament to K. *Charles* the ſecond, 1011*. ſtrange practices of his in the election of parliament men for *Cornwall*, 1039. he offers to join the Prince of *Orange*, 1324. and prevails with the garriſon of *Plimouth* to declare for him. 1333

BATTLE at *Dunbar*, 81, 82. at *Worceſter*, 88. at *Winkington*, & at *Reading*. 1342

BAVARIA, Duke of, at the head of the Catholick League, 14. Elector of, diſguſted at the Emperour's Court, 1272. Commanded ſucceſsfully in *Hungary*. 1273

BAXTER, Mr. a Manager for the *Presbyterians* at the *Savoy* conference, 295. his Character, *ib.* refuſes the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, 303. is at a treaty for a comprehenſion, 427. he refuſes and ſends back the Court's penſion. 558

BEAUFORT, Duke of, 847. 1009

BEAUMONT, Lieutenant-Colonel, refuſes to receive *Iriſh* recruits into his Regiment, 1285

BEDDINGFIELD, the D. of *York*'s Confeſſor. 750

BEDFORD, Earl of, 564

BEDLOW's evidence of the Plot, 761. his character, *ibid.* 786, 791, 92. 817, 819, 822, 854.

BELCARRAS, Earl of, ſtands out for the King in the *Highlands*, 89. goes to the King, 92

BELHAVEN, Lord, againſt the ſurrender of church lands to the Crown. Tho' blind undertakes to kill the Earl of *Dumfries*. 26

BELLARMIN, publiſhed a Letter of K. *James* I. to the Pope. 6

BELLASIS, Lord, a zealous Papiſt, afraid leaſt the D. of *York* ſhould marry his daughter in law, 628. made General by the Pope, according *Oates*'s depoſition, 758. 9. 763

BELLASIS, Lady, had a promiſe under the D. of *York*'s hand to marry her, 628. was at the Queen's labour. 1258

BELLEFONDS, Marſhal, ſent from *France* on the death of Madame, 550. his character. 969

BENNET, made Secretary of State, by the intereſt of the popiſh party, 156. ſee *Arlington*.

BENTINK, after Earl of *Portland*, ſent Envoy to the Court of *Brandenburgh*, 1267. he manages with great ſecrecy at the *Hague* the Prince of *Orange*'s fleet, 1311, 1343. is of opinion that the ſovereign power ſhould be only in the Prince. 1377

BERKELY, Charles, made Earl of *Falmouth*, 157. his character. *ibid.*

BERKELY, Lord, made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 621. his character, 490. gives the King ill counſel, 621. was Governour to the D. of *York*. 1027

BERKSHIRE, Earl of, reconciled E. *Clarendon* to Lord *Lorn*. 241

BERRY, acceſſary to the murder of Sr. *Edmund Bury Godfrey*, 784. tried for it & executed. 786

BERWICK, Duke of, made a ſory figure, when young, thro' the Queen's diſlike & his Governor's fault, 1252, 3. *Iriſh* recruits refuſed in his Regiment. 1285

BETHEL, Sheriff, his character. 842

BEVERWAERT's daughters married to *Oſſory* & *Arlington*, 669

Van BEUNINGEN of *Amſterdam*, his character, 592. his thoughts of the Court of *England*. 840

BIRCH, Col. his character, 688, 779

BISHOPS, ſet up in *Scotland* without revenues, with little authority, & much oppoſition, 8. their faults, 9. three or four aſpiring Biſhops prepare a liturgy, 35. men ſought out to be Biſhops, 211. their characters, 213, 14. they are conſecrated, 223. the new Biſhops come down to *Scotland*, 230. and are brought into Parliament,

231. prejudices infuſed againſt the Biſhops, 257. of ſome Biſhops in great credit, 288, 9. 290. deportment of ſome of the Biſhops, 357. ſome of the grievances of the clergy laid before them, 358. ſevere proceedings of ſome Biſhops againſt the priſoners, 390, 393. The King offended with the Biſhops, 426. moſt of the Biſhops againſt a treaty for a comprehenſion with the *Presbyterians*, 501, 516. many of the Biſhops and clergy offended at the act of ſupremacy, 518, 19. Caracters of ſome Biſhops, 695, 6. debates about their voting in trials for treaſon, 810, 813, 14, 15, 16. an *Iriſh* Biſhop executed, 875. Characters of ſome Biſhops, 1006, 7, 8. The Biſhop of *London* ſuſpended by an Eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 1124. Characters of ſome Biſhops, 1154, 5, 6. Some Biſhops petition the King, 1234. were ſent priſoners to the Tower, 1239. were tried, 1240. & acquited, 1243

BLACKLOW, a Prieſt, 319.

BLAIR, a leading preacher among the *Presbyterians*. 49

BLAKE, Admiral, carries high the honour of the *Engliſh* at *Malaga*, 126

BLAKE, a Draper, depoſed againſt Ld. *Howard*. 978

BLAKEWOOD's trial. 908

BLANFORD, Biſhop, attends the Ducheſs of *York* in her laſt ſickneſs. 559

BOHEMIA, troubles in that Kingdom, & the El. *Palatine* choſen King. 13

BONCOUR, a French Refugee, carries a meſſage of importance from the Author to the Ducheſs of *Hannover*. 1268

BOOTH, Sir *George*, raiſed a body in *Cheſhire* for K. *Charles* II. 103

The BOOTS, a way of torture uſed in *Scotland*, 392. 997

BOREEL, Dutch Ambaſſador, his plain anſwer to K. *Charles* the ſecond. 128, 584

BORGHESE, Prince, found the Statue of *Tiberius* like K. *Charles* II. 1020.* adviſes the Author to leave *Rome*, 1110

BOSCAWEN, one of the leading men in the houſe of Commons. 779

BOTHWELL-BRIDGE, an inſurrection ſuppreſs'd there, 818, 9, 830, 31. ſeveral perſons accuſed of having been there, 893, 907, 908, 991

BOUCHAIN, beſieged by the K. of *France*, who refuſed there to give battle to the Pr. of *Orange*. 716

BOUILLON, Duke of, Uncle to *Ferdinand* K. of *Bohemia*. 13

Box refuſes to ſerve Sheriff upon a doubtful election. 914

BOYLE, Earl of *Cork*, relates the ſtory how the *Spaniſh* Armado

mado was put off from coming to *England* a whole year, 566

BOYLE, *Robert*, one of the R. Society, his character, 316.

BRADDON fined for talking of the Earl of *Essex*'s murder, 976

BRADSHAW the regicide. 69

BRAIDALBIN, Earl, sends 1700 *Highlanders* into the West to live upon free quarter. 738

BRANDENBURGH, Elector of, why he turned Calviniſt, 17. *Turenne* ſent againſt the El. of *Brandenburg*, 597. he was forced to make peace, 613 returning to alliance with the States, 652. his death and character, 1248, 9, 50, 51. The new Elector went heartily into the Pr. of *Orange*'s meaſures, 1267. He offers the States to ſecure their frontiers. 1306

BRANDON, Lord, convicted by Lord *Grey*'s evidence. 1073

BRAYER of the *Sorbon*. 970

BRERETON, Lord, Chairman of the committee of *Brook-houſe*, his character. 490

BRIDGMAN, 373. made Lord-keeper, his character, 418. is for a comprehenſion of the *Presbyterians*, 427. and for a union with *Scotland*, 511. refuſes to ſet the ſeal to the declaration for toleration, and is diſmiſs'd. 556

BRISTOL, Earl of, his character, 159. conſults with the chief *Papiſts* for a general toleration, 317, 320. a prediction of his, 322. he accuſes *Clarendon* in the houſe of Lords, 323, 862. 1023*

BRODERICK, Sr. *Allen*, 115, 19

BROOK-HOUSE, Comittee, 490.

BROUNKER, Lord, one of the Royal Society, 316

BROUNKER, one of the D. of *York*'s bedchamber. 361

BROWN, Lady, at *Paris* viſited by Sir *William Throgmorton*, 699. what followed, *ibid.*

BROWN, brother to Viſc. *Montacute*. 1260

BRUCE manages with ſecrecy K. *James*'s right of ſucceſſion to the crown of *England*, & is well rewarded. 6, 7

BRUCE, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, turned out for ſpeaking againſt taking off the Penal Laws, 1130

BRUCE, a prophet among the puritans. 21, 22

BUCKINGHAM, the Duke of, Favourite of K. *James*, who was weary of him at laſt, 20. Having made love to the Q. of *France* he was ordered to leave that court, 71. on this affront he engages K. *Charles* to ſtir up the Proteſtants in *France* to raiſe war, *ibid.* & on a civil letter from that Queen neglects to aſſiſt them; but finding himſelf duped, he reſolved to be revenged, & was ſtabbed by *Felton*, 72. His breaking the *Spaniſh* match was his ruin, 694

BUCKINGHAM, Duke of, Favorite of K. *Charles* II. poſſeſsd him with bad Principles, 78. Ingratiates himſelf with the Miniſters in *Scotland* &c. 80. his character, 157, 8. The character he gave of K. *Charles*, & the D. of *York*, 275. he ridicules Ld. *Clarendon*, 411. Upon Ld. *Clarendon*'s fall he recovers his favour, & by his means the King promotes *Wilkins* to the See of *Cheſter*, 418. preſſes the King to own a marriage with the Duke of *Monmouth*'s mother, 430. and deſires leave to ſteal away the Queen, 483. he falls out with the Ducheſs of *Cleveland*, & brings *Davies* and *Gwyn* to the King, 484. his chief friends, 487, 8. he moves for diſſolving the parliament, and calling a new one, 510. is for a union with *Scotland*, 511. and for an alliance with *France*, 545. 550. is one of the *Cabal*, 557. he left the Fleet on the appearance of an engagement, 582. ſent Ambaſſador to *Holland*, 585. offers to ſign a treaty with the Pr. of *Orange*, but recedes, 588. hinders *Oſſory*'s deſign on *Helvoetſluys*, 600. ſends from *France* a *French* Miſtreſs for the King, 604. & loſt her by his neglect, 605. he hated *Schomberg*, & was hated by all, 616. offers to take out of both houſes thoſe that oppoſed the King's declaration, 621. a friend to Ld. *Clifford*, 624. he gave a good character of Dr. *Burnet* to the King, 634. & adviſed him how to behave towards the D. of *York*, 640. he is attacked by the Commons, 649. and loſes the King's favour, *ibid.* oppoſes the Teſt, 681. lays open the deſigns of the Court, 688. is for embroiling matters in the queſtion about the legality of a prorogation, 711. & is ſent to the Tower for it, 713. he becomes one of the leading men among the Lords, 760. *Wildman* in great credit with him. 939

BUCKINGHAM, Ducheſs of, married to the E. of *Antrim*, 59

BUCKY, *Gordon*, ſent with news of E. *Murrays* death to the *King*, 24. on Lord *Balmerinoch*'s jury, declares boldly againſt ſheding of innocent blood. 33

BURLINGTON, Lord, a friend to E. *Clarendon*. 420

BURNET made Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, 340. his character, *ibid.* *Turner* followed his orders in military executions, 348. illegal proceedings and ſeverity towards the *Scots* Priſoners attributed to him, 390. 92, 3. upon *Sharp*'s diſgrace he grows more conſiderable, and propoſes a ſpecial Council to ſit at *Glaſcow*, 397, 8. he declares againſt disbanding the forces, 401. & againſt raiſing a Country Militia, 402. his carrying things

so high brings in *Sharp* again, *ibid.* he was mortified in Council for stories he had told at Court, 398, 403. he and his Clergy make great complaints against Conventicles, 508. is enraged at the indulgence, & concerts a seditious address, which displeases the King, & he is forbid coming to Parliament, 516, 17. He is obliged to resign his Archbishoprick & retire to a private life, in which he behaves better, 521, 22. upon submission he is again restored, 663, 64. his death. 1006

BURNET, *Gilbert*, Author of this History, see his Preface & after it his Epitaph. His parentage, 20, 22. his father courted & esteemed by *Cromwel*'s Officers, 125. his acquaintance & conversation with P. *Walsh*, 320. he was at first much in favour with Abp. *Burnet*, 340. his travels in *Holland* & *France* confirmed his love of Liberty & moderation, 340. he was kindly used by Ld. *Hollis*, then Ambassadour at *Paris*. 341. his familiarity with many great men at Court created jalousies, 342. he lays some grievances of the clergy in *Scotland* before the Bishops, 358. writes a letter to Lord *Tweedale* to put some of the more moderate *Presbyterians* into the vacant churches, 512. is chosen Divinity Professor at *Glascow*, 522. account of the state he found things in there, *ibid* he is employed by *Leightoun* with five others to preach among & persuade the *Presbyterians*, 532. is at the conference between Bishop *Leightoun* and the *Presbyterians*, 536, 7, 8, 9. his censure upon that whole matter, 539. writes the Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*, 541. comes into favour with *Lauderdale*, and reconciles him with Duke *Hamilton*, 542, 43. proposes to *Lauderdale* a further indulgence, 544. he refuses a Bishoprick, *ibid* and 608. he obtains a further indulgence for the Ministers, 610. gives *Lauderdale* a true account of the affairs of *Scotland*, 632. and by him discovers the desperate designs of the Court, *ibid.* the King gives him leave to publish his Memoirs, and shews him great favour in a long private audience, 633. his conversation with the Duke of *York* about Religion, 635. what passed between the Duke, and *Stillingfleet*, and *Burnet*, 638, 639. and also between the Duke and *Burnet*, upon the affront the Commons put upon the Duke, 642. a storm rais'd against *Burnet* by *Lauderdale*, 645. he is disgraced, 659, 660. but is favour'd by the Duke of *York*, 661. he loses that, and

and is examin'd by the Commons, 672, 673. being out of favour at Court, he sets himself to his studies, and is protected by Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, 675. a conference between *Coleman* and him, and some others, 701. he undertakes to write the History of the Reformation, 701, 2. what pass'd between him, & *Tonge*, & *Oates*, 754, 5. his opinion of some profligate witnesses, 763, 64. is sent for by the King, and has several private conferences with him, 765, 6. 771, 2, 3. Mr. *Burnet's* opinion in the point of the exclusion, 809. his new expedient of a Prince Regent, 866. being reflected on & aspersed by both sides, he retires again to his studies, but is in particular confidence with the Lords *Essex* and *Russel*, 871. his letter to the King, pressing him to change his course of life, 882. *Halifax* carries him to the King, 883. what passed there, *ibid.* he does good offices for *Argile* in his extremity, 901, 903. but is unworthily used by the Earl of *Perth*, 904. his conversation with Ld. *Hallifax* upon the state of affairs at Court, 918. he endeavours to hinder some of his friends from conspiring together, 930, 31. 32. he shuns *Fergusons* acquaintance, 933. Ld *Howard* swore to him that he knew of no plot; & believed nothing of it, 940. he was threatened for assisting his Cousin *Bailie* in prison, 946. he was much with Ld. *Russel* in prison, 956, 7, 8, 9. & assisted at his execution, 961, 2. he is examined before the Council, & reads there his journal concerning Ld. *Russels* behaviour, 963, 4. he goes over to the Court of *France*, 967. characters of some he knew there, 968, 9, 970, 71. after a few months he returns to *England*, 972. He with others depose in *Sidneys* tryal what Lord *Howard* had said in denying there was any plot, 978. he advised to soften some sharp reproaches on the King in *Armstrong's* dying speech, 990, 91. how he preserved himself from entering into dangerous confidences with his friends, 998, 99. At Ld *Perth's* desire he makes *Leightoun* come to *London*, where he died next day, 1003, 1004. Hardship that the Author met with, & why turn'd out of his place, 1015, 16, 17. He told Ld. *Hallifax* how the Abp. of *Rheims* had told him of the King's being a *Papist*, 1004 *. he goes out of *England*, 1043. resides at *Paris* & converseth much with E. *Montague* &c. 1087, 8. his account of the persecution of *France*, 1089, 90, 91, 92, 3, 4, 5,

5, 6. from thence he travels with *Col. Stouppe* to *Italy*, and is well received at *Rome*, 1097. Cardinal *Howard*'s great civility and freedom with him, 1098. 9 returns by the way of *Marſeilles*. and gives ſome account of the *French* cruelties in *Orange*, 1100, 1101. He ſojurn'd at *Geneva*, *Strasbourg*, *Heidleberg* &c, & gives account of the ſtate and temper he obſerved among the Reformed, 1138. 9. 1140. 41. & alſo among the *Popiſh* Clergy, *ibid.* he is invited by the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to go to the *Hague*, 1142. they treat him with great confidence, *ibid.* he diſcovers a plot againſt the Prince, 1143. 4. his character of the Prince and Princeſs, 1145. he is much truſted by them, 1147. he finds out the Prince's ſenſe of our affairs, 1147. 8. & the Princeſs's reſolution with reſpect to the Prince, if ſhe ſhould ever come to the crown, 1150. his converſation with *Penn* at the *Hague*, 1152. 3. & with Q. *Chriſtina* at *Rome* 1177. he is forbid the Prince's Court at the preſſing inſtances of King *James*, 1178. notwithſtanding he is ſtill intruſted with the ſecrets of the *Engliſh* affairs, 1179. he draws inſtructions for *Dykvelt* how to manage all ſorts of people in *England*, 1179. his reflections on the letters which paſſed between the King and the Princeſs about religion, 1210. a proſecution ſet on foot againſt him by the King's order, 1211. he is naturaliz'd by the States, 1212. *Albyville* gives in a memorial againſt him, 1216. the States anſwer to what related to him, 1218. other deſigns againſt him, 1219. 20. he puts into *Engliſh* Mr. *Fagel's* anſwer to Mr. *Stewart*, 1223. he anſwers *Parker* with much ſharpneſs, 1238. he acquaints the Princeſs *Sophia* with the Prince of *Orange*'s deſigns upon *England*, and his opinion of her remote Succeſſion to the Crown, 1268. he manages Admiral *Herbert*'s difficult temper, 1276. his reflections on the Manifeſtos of *France*, 1293. 1296. he puts in *Engliſh* the Princes Declaration for *England*, 1300. & corrects ſome paſſages of that for *Scotland*, 1302 he goes aboard the fleet with the Prince as his Chapelain, 1302. 1313. what paſſed between the Prince and him at landing, 1325. his care of the Clergy at *Exeter*, 1327. he draws up the Aſſociation at *Exeter*, 1332. what paſſed between the Marquiſs of *Halliſax* and him in refe-

ference to the king's person at *Hungerford*, 1335. he prevents insults upon the *Papists* or *Jacobites*, 1349. the original of *Magna charta* brought to him, 1367. he opposes *Bentink*'s arguments for the sole sovereignty in the Prince, 1377. 8. and declares the Princess's sense in the matter, 1383. he expostulates with her upon her appearing so chearful at her arrival, 1390.

C.

CALAMY, *Edmund*, refuses a Bishoprick, 303.

CALAMY, Dr. an ornament to the Church, 813.

CALVIN, blamed, 1203.

CALVINISTS, jealoused by the *Lutherans*. 14. vain endeavours of the El. of *Brandenburg* to reconcile them & the *Lutherans*, 1249.

CAMDEN, not let into some secrets of Q. *Elisabeths* reign, 566.

CAMBRAY, besieged, 715. & taken, 719.

CAMBRIDGE, University, refuses on the Kings letter to admit a Benedictin Monk, 1158. 9.

CAMERON, Chief of the *Cameronians*, killed, 889.

CAMPBELS, two Scotch Gentlemen, seized & brought before the King, 942. 3.

CAMPBELL, Sir *Hugh* of *Cesnock*, falsly accused, & acquitted, yet kept in prison. 992. 3. his unjust confiscation, & death, 1056. 7.

CANN a leading preacher among the Presbyterians in *Scotland*, 49.

CAPEL, Sir *Henry*, withdraws from Council, 838. votes for the bill of exclusion, 844.

CARDENAS, *Don Alonso de*, makes offers to *Cromwell* to engage him in the *Spanish* interest, 112.

CARGILL chief of the *Cargillites*, taken & executed, 889. account of the obstinacy of some of his followers, *ibid.* & 991.

CARLISLE, the Earl of, employed & trusted by *Cromwell*, 100. he offers to bring in to the house of Lords a proposal in favour of the Duke of *Monmouth* 430. D. *Burnet* falsly accused of correspondence with him, 661. he visits Ld. *Stafford* in prison, & carries a message from him to the Lords, 861.

CARLTON, Sir *Dudley*, his advice to King *James* I. to beware of the priests, 11. 12.

CAROLUS GUSTAVUS, King of *Sweden*, in great friendship with *Cromwel*, 128.

CAROLINA, many Presbyterians

rians in *Scotland* intend to go over & ſettle there, 909. *Baillie* & others pretend to treat about it in *London*, 930. 31.

CARON, one of the honeſt prieſts, 319.

CARSTAIRS, a Scotch Miniſter, coming from *Holland*, his letters taken, 609. 665. he is put to the torture & confeſſes ſome things, yet keeps up great ſecrets, 998. 9.

CARSTAIRS, a lewd decayed fellow, ſeizes a presbyterian preacher, & uſes him baſely, 709. his practices againſt *Lauderdale* and *Staley*, 763. 773. 4. he dies with great horror, 774.

CARTWRIGHT made Biſhop of *Cheſter*, his character, 1156. he acts according to the Kings pleaſure, 1165. he miſinforms the King about the deſign of the ſeven Biſhops, 1235.

CARYL one of the Divines at *Richard Cromwell's* Faſt, 130.

CARYL, ſent by K. *James* to the Pope, 1034.

CASSILIS, Earl of. 29. ſent over by the *Scots* to treat with King *Charles* II. at the *Hague*, 78. his character, *ibid.* deſires an explanation of the oath of ſupremacy, 234. he quits the parliament and his employments, 235. moves in parliament againſt the King's marrying a *Papiſt*, 284. the commonwealth party try to engage him in an inſurrection, but in vain, 374.

CASSILIS, Earl of, the Son, ſingly votes againſt the ſevere Act againſt conventicles, 531.

CASTLEMAIN, *Palmer*, made Earl of 148. ſent Ambaſſador to *Rome* from K. *James* II. 1170. his bad ſucceſs there, 1171. 2. 3.

CASTLEMAIN, *Villers* Counteſs of, See CLEVELAND.

CAVENDISH, Lord, ſaid a good thing on the Teſt act, 626. his character, 689. he deſires to be excuſed from attendance in Council, 838. offers to manage Lord *Ruſſel's* eſcape, 961. See Earl of DEVONSHIRE.

CECIL, Secretary to Queen *Elizabeth*, enters into a particular confidence with King *James* I. 6.

CELLIER, Mrs. gets *Dangerfield* out of priſon, 834.

CHAISE, Father *la*, the French Kings Confeſſor, 654. 752. 769. his character, 971. * 1005. 1181.

CHAMBERLAIN. Dr. not called to the Queen's labour, 1259.

CHARLES of *Grats*, a patron of the *Jeſuits*, 13.

CHARLES LEWIS, [Elector *Palatine*] his account of the religion of ſome *German* Princes, 16.

CHARLES V. Emperor, ſubdues the *Smalcaldick* League, 561.

CHARLES I. King, at firſt a friend to the *Puritans*, 24. he was grave & ſullen & much offended at King *James*'s light & familiar way, 25. he deſign'd to recover the Tithes and Church Lands in *Scotland* to the Crown, 25. 6. crowned in *Scotland*, 27. his rough carriage in Parliament, where he makes an Act paſs againſt the majority, 28. erects a new Biſhoprick at *Edinburgh*, 29. feebleneſs of the government by the King's truſting all to the civil execution, 36. complaints made at the progreſs of *Popery*, *ibid.* ill ſtate of the King's affairs, 41. he gains *Montroſe*, & is led too much by him & by the Queen, 43. at her perſuaſion he gave up Ld. *Strafford*, 45. D. *Hamiltons* deſigns in his favour, overturned by *Montroſe*, 51. 2. 3. whoſe ſucceſſes ruined the Kings affairs, & made him break off the treaty of *Uxbridge*, 55. 6. 7. His Queen & Son juſtifie, at the expenſe of his honour, the Earl of *Antrim* the chief inſtrument of the *Iriſh* maſſacre, 59. 60. too ſlow in the treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*, 65. 66. his behaviour at his tryal, & execution, 70. his character, *ibid.* he diſcovered a deſign laid to erect into a Commonwealth the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, 72. A book *Ikon baſilike* falſly aſcribed to him heightens peoples reſpect for his memory, 76.

CHARLES II. King, proclaimed by the *Scots*, 77. they ſend Commiſſioners to the *Hague* to treat with him, 78. the treaty concluded, & he takes the Covenant, 80. the King ſails home for *Scotland*, *ibid.* his hard uſage there, 81. his army defeated at *Dunbar*, 82. he paſſes an Act of indemnity at *Perth*, 83. he is forced to ſet out a declaration, in which he owns the ſins of his Father, his own ill education and courſe of life, *&c.* 86. the King attempts an eſcape, but is prevented, 87. he is crown'd, and renews the covenant, *ibid.* he reſolves to paſs into *England*, and *Cromwell* follows him, 88. a body in the *Highlands* ſtand out for the King, 99. account of the diviſions among them, 90, 91. meſſages ſent to the King then at *Paris*, to invite him to come among them, 92. what paſſed between the King and *Drummond* there, *ibid.* that little Army routed, 93. the ſtate of *Scotland* during the uſurpation, *ibid.* a ſnare laid for the King in *Suſſex*, diſ-

diſcoverd by *Morland*, 102. the King and the Duke are diſmiſſed *France*, 114. but the King before he left *Paris* changed his religion, 115. 116. he went to the meeting at the *Pyrenees*, to try what aſſiſtance he might expect upon the concluſion of that treaty, 135. and there went ſecretly to maſs, *ibid.* he comes back to *Flanders* in all haſte, and from thence to *Breda*, *ibid.* he is called home without a treaty by the new Parliament or Convention, 140.

At his reſtoration the Nation was overſpread with vice and drunkenneſs, 145. the King's character, 146. with thoſe of the principal perſons of the Court and Miniſtry in *England* at that time, 148. to 159. account of the chief of the *Scots* and Parties form'd among them, 159. to 166. advices offer'd in *Scottiſh* affairs for a general indemnity, 166. and for demoliſhing the citadels built by *Cromwell* in *Scotland*, 169. and for ſettling the church, 170. the King confirms the *Presbyterian* government there, 173. a Council propoſed to ſit at Court for *Scottiſh* affairs, 176. the committee of eſtates meet, and a Parliament is called, 179. the King diſlikes *Middletoun's* paſſing the reſciſſory Act. 190. and goes coldly into the deſign of reſtoring Epiſcopacy, 210. is diſpleaſed with the incapacitating Act. 245. he gives himſelf up to his pleaſures, 268. he maintains the Act of indemnity in *England*, 269. his marriage, 270. he ſells *Dunkirk* to the *French* 281. the manner of the King's marriage, 284. he lives in an avowed courſe of lewdneſs, 285. He puts out a declaration for toleration, 318. deſigned for the *Papiſts*, 319. he orders the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion in *Scotland* to be diſcontinued, 352. and more forces to be raiſed there, *ibid.* reſolves upon a War with the *Dutch*, 359. his victory at ſea not followed, 360. his fleet almoſt loſt, but ſaved by Prince *Rupert*, 378. He puts a ſtop to the ſevere proceedings againſt the rebels in *Scotland*, 393. changes his *Scotch* Council, and is more moderate in government, 395. disbands the *Scotch* army, 401. tries how to recover the affections of his people, 411. when the *Dutch* fleet burnt his ſhips in the river, the King rode through the City to encourage the Citizens, 413. he grows weary

of the Queen and of Lord *Clarendon*, 415. ſeems to go in to moderation aud comprehenſion, 418. and enters into the triple alliance, 418. He is highly offended at the behaviour of moſt of the Biſhops, 426. preſſed to own a marriage with *Monmouth*'s mother, 430. is earneſt in ſetting on Lord *Roos*'s bill of divorce, 432. rejects with horror an offer made by *Buckingham* to ſend the Queen to a plantation, 483. he commonly goes to the Houſe of Lords, and becomes a common ſolicitor, 488. gives orders for an indulgence in *Scotland*, 513. and is diſpleaſed at the ſeverity of the act againſt conventicles there, 431. He meets his ſiſter at Dover, & grants every thing ſhe deſires, 546. ſhuts up the Exchequer, 554. He orders to attack the *Dutch Smyrna* fleet, 555. His declaration for a toleration, ſuſpending the execution of all penal laws againſt Papiſts and Nonconformiſts, 556. he complains to *Sheldon* of the Clergy's preaching againſt Popery, 558. receives a *French* Miſtreſs, and makes her Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*, 604. He complains of not having power enough, 615. his Court much divided, 616. variety of opinions in the Council, 621. highly offended at Lord *Shaftsbury*'s ſpeech, *ibid*, but is calmer afterwards by *Arlington*'s management, 623. and cancels the declaration for a toleration, 625. the King ſends Plenipotentiaries to the treaty of *Cologn*, 629. 630. calls a Parliament in *Scotland*, 643. He ſigns a peace with the *Dutch*, 652. and becomes mediator of the peace between the *French* and *Dutch*, 653. he prorogues the Parliament of *England*, 653. and that of *Scotland*, 655. he deals roughly with the *Scotch* Lawyers in the caſe of appeals, 657. and ſuffers the *French* to make levies in *Scotland*, 719. ſends angry meſſages to the Commons, 720. gives Lady *Mary* to the Prince of *Orange*, 725 ſigns whatever Letters *Lauderdale* ſends him, 737. refuſes to ſee the *Scotch* Nobility coming to complain of the *Highlanders*, 740. afterwards ſuffers the Duke of *Monmouth* to be their Interceſſor with him, 741. the King's going to *New-Market* upon the diſcovery of the plot cenſured, 754. he refuſes to paſs the Militia Bill, 771. his thoughts upon the whole matter of the Plot, *ibid*. ſends a meſſage to the Com-

Commons to bring *Montague* to a trial, 775. the Parliament prorogued, 778. and the King offers 200 *l.* for further diſcoveries of the *Popiſh* Plot, 790. a new Parliament called, 795. and the King refuſes to confirm *Seimour* Speaker, 796. declares in Council he was never married to *Monmouth*'s mother, *ibid.* puts the Treaſury in commiſſion, and changes his whole Council, 800. the King taken ill at *Windſor*, orders the Duke of *York* to be ſent for, 832. great jealouſies of the King, 835. he ſends the Duke of *York* to *Scotland*, 842. and meſſages to the Commons for a ſupply for *Tangier*, 847. diſſolves the Parliament, and ſummons a new one to be held at *Oxford*, 865. a new expedient propoſed of a Prince Regent 866. the *Oxford* Parliament ſoon diſſolved, 866. a great change in affairs, *ibid.* the King ſets out a declaration mentioning the hard things that had been done by the three laſt Parliaments, 871. receives addreſſes from all parts of *England* in a high ſtrain, 872. receives Dr. *Burnet* kindly 883. gives way to great ſeverities in *Scotland*, 890. &c. all charters of towns in *England* ſurrendred to the King, 911, changes in the miniſtry, and quarrels among them, 916. he wants to ſeize the Charter of *London*, 919. *Rye-houſe* plot diſcover'd, 936. the King ſeem'd concerned for the Duke of *Monmouth*, 943. he ſends a meſſage to the Common-Council of *London* to deliver up their Charter, &c on refuſal ſeizes it. 973, the calling a Parliament propos'd, but rejected, *ibid.* the King pardons *Monmouth*, 981. but ſoon after forbids him the Court 984. a remarkable paſſage between the King and the Prince of *Orange* at *Windſor*, *ibid.* debates in the *Scotch* Council, whether the Husbands ſhould be fined for their Wives going to Conventicles, the King determines it againſt the Ladies, 994. 995. he abandons *Tangier*, 1011. ſtrange practices, and very unbecoming a King in a Trial of a young Gentleman in a matter of blood, 1022. and in the Earl of *Clancarty*'s ſon's marriage, *ibid.* he employs *Papiſts* in *Ireland*, and endeavours to make the army there depend immediately on himſelf, 1024. ſuſpicions of the King's declaring himſelf a *Papiſt*, 1004 * a new ſcheme of government laid at

Lady *Portſmouts's*, 1007.* the King's fondneſs for that Lady, 1008.* his ſickneſs, 1009.* the ſacrament adminiſtred to him by a *Popiſh* Prieſt, 1010.* his death, 1014.* a ſurprizing ſtory about the King's death, 1016.* his character, 1016.*

CHARLTON, Agent of the D. of *Monmouth*, 1037.

Charters, of Towns given up to the King, 911.

Charter of *London*, Arguments for and againſt the forfeiture of it, in the *King's Benth*, 919. Judgment given in the matter, 923.

CHARTERIS, Mr. his character, 355. 356. 410. 519. 532. refuſes to be a Biſhop, 545. 898. attends *Argile* at his execution, 1050. 51.

CHATHAM, the Engliſh fleet deſtroyed there by the *Dutch*, 400.

CHELSEY, College deſigned for a noble uſe by *Cromwel*, 121.

CHICHELY, married Ld. *Hallifaxes* mother, 846.

CHIFFINCH's, Page of the back ſtairs; K. *Char.* meets D. B. there, 771. 883.

CHIGI, Cardinal Legat in *France*, 341

CHRISTINA, Queen of *Sweden*, her notions of liberty 128. her character of ſome Popes, 1177.

CIBO, Cardinal Patron, amazed at the propoſals of the Engliſh Ambaſſador, 1172.

CHUDLEIGH, Envoy in *Holland*, 987. affronts the Prince of *Orange*, 1013. is recalled by King *James*, 1035.

CHURCHILL, Lord, ſent over to the Court of *France* to notify King *Charles's* death, 1034. join'd with the Lords in inviting over the Prince of *Orange*, 1281. his character, *ibid.* went over to the Prince at *Axminſter*, 1329.

CHURCHILL, Lady, her character, 1282. retired from Court with the Princeſs *Anne* to *Northampton*, 1330.

Citadels, in *Scotland* built by *Cromwell*, demoliſh'd, 169.

CLAGET, Dr. an eminent Clergymen, 813. 1118.

CLANCARTY, Counteſs of, commits her ſon to the care of Dr. *Fell*, 1023. he is perverted by Colonel *Maccarty*, *ibid.*

CLARE, Earl of, depoſes againſt *Howards* evidence, 978.

CLARENDON, Earl of, his Hiſtory writen in favour of the Court, 46. he is for rejecting Lord *Antrim's* petition, 59. his character, 148. diſguſts the Cavaliers, 155. perſuades

ſuades the King to adhere to his promiſe for a full indemnity, 166. is for keeping the *Engliſh* Garriſons in *Scotland*, 169. moves for a Council to be ſettled to ſit regularly at *Whitehall* on *Scottiſh* affairs, 176. diverts *Glencairn* and *Rothes* from charging *Lauderdale*, 194. zealous for reſtoring Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, 210. 241. diſapproves the incapacitating Act, 245. and ſtudies to preſerve Earl *Middletoun*, *ibid.* his juſt and moderate notions of government at the Reſtoration, 259. 260. gives good advice in disbanding the old army, 262. and in maintaining the act of Indemnity, 269. he refuſes *Fouquet*'s offer of 10000 *l.* and warns the King againſt ſuffering any that ſerved him to be penſioners to other Princes, 272. refuſes to make a viſit to any of the King's Miſtreſſes, 285. and puts the juſtice of the Nation in very good hands, *ibid.* gets the King to publiſh a declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, 291. 302. 305. 316. endeavours to divide the *Papiſts*, 319. 20. 22. 23. not let into the deſign of the *Dutch* war, 328. he is diſgraced, 411. 415. 416. his integrity, 419. impeach'd in the houſe of Commons, 420. by the King's deſire he goes beyond Sea, 423. is baniſh'd by act of Parliament, *ib.* the character of his two ſons, 425.

CLARENDON, Lord, his character, 425, *ſee Hide.* the Commons addreſs againſt him as inclined to *Popery*, 847. 882. made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 1086. 1131. he is recalled, 1132. reflects on King *James*, and goes over to the Prince of *Orange* near *Salisbury*, 1335. ſent with ſome others to treat with the Lords ſent by King *James*, 1336. 1345. he reconciles himſelf to that King, 1358, and manages the debates in favour of a Regent, 1363.

CLARENDON, Counteſs of, forbid to tell what ſhe accidentally ſaw of the Queen, 1255. denied acces to the young Prince, 1260.

CLARGES, *Monk*'s brother in law 132. his character, 155.

CLAYPOLE, married one of *Cromwell*'s daughters, 131.

CLAYTON, a Juſtice, of the City. 868. 878

CLEMENT, Prince of *Bavaria*, choſen Coadjutor of *Colen*, 1273. 1292. 1296.

CLERGY, *Engliſh*, a great heat raiſed againſt them, 811. the Clergy managed the point of controverſy

with the *Papiſts* with great zeal and ſucceſs, 1117. account of the perſons chiefly engaged in it, 1118. Clergy ſend meſſages to the Prince of *Orange* to interpoſe and eſpouſe the concerns of the Church, 1166. they welcome the Prince, 1350.

CLERGY, *Scotch*, delighted at the cruelties of *Dalziel* in the Weſt, 293. 4. great complaints made of the Clergy, 408. they are ill uſed by the *Presbyterians*, 409. and are prevailed on to deſert their cures, *ibid.* they move for a national Synod, 656. are inſolently uſed by the *Presbyterians* at the Revolution, and adhere to *Dundee*, 1354.

CLEVELAND, Ducheſs of, her character, 148. 484. 5.

CLIFFORD, makes a great figure in the Houſe of Commons, 371. 2. his character, *ibid.* 415 made Lord Treaſurer, 557. is one of the Cabal, *ibid.* heated with the deſign of bringing in *Popery*, 616. uſes violent expreſſions in the Houſe of Lords, and in the Cabinet, 620. 21. upon which he is diſgraced, 633. 1023.

COCHRAN, 943. 1044. 1049. 1052.

COLCHESTER, Lord, afterward E. of *Rivers*, early join'd the Pr. of *Orange*, 1328.

COLEMAN, his character, 654. intrigues, 695. 97. 98. 99. &c. conference with ſome Divines, 701. accuſed by *Oates*, 752. himſelf and papers ſeiz'd, 753. 58. he is brought to his trial, & executed, 768. &c.

COLEN, Elector of, puts the *French* in poſſeſſion of his country, 579. he dies, his character and affairs of *Colen* at that time, 1269. &c.

COLLEDGE's, trial and condemnation, 879.

COLVIL, his prudent anſwer to *Middleton* about reſiſtance, 256.

COMMITTEE, of Eſtates meet in *Scotland*, 128.

COMMITTEE, at *Brookhouſe* to examine into the money given during the *Dutch* war, 490.

COMMITTEE, of Council ſent round the weſt of *Scotland*, 523.

COMPTON, made Biſhop of *London*, 695. his character, *ibid.* attends King *Charles* II. in his ſickneſs, 1009. argues againſt giving up the teſt, 1104. refuſes to ſuſpend Dr. *Sharp*, 1120. brought before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 1122. and ſuſpended *ab officio*, 1124. meets at the Duke

Duke of *Shrewsbury's*, 1185. and comes into the intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*, 1280. conveys the Princeſs *Anne* to *Northampton*, 1331.

Con, a Correſpondent with *Rome*, 774.

Conde, Prince of, ſets the *Spaniards* on getting *Cromwell* into their intereſt, 112. offers to aſſiſt the *Proteſtants* in *France*, 113. his character of the *French* King and his Miniſters, 597. admires the Prince of *Orange*, 668. more than *Lewis* XIV. 718. his character, 969.

Confeſſion of faith, of 1567. eſtabliſhed as a rule, & to be ſworn to tho not examined, 894.

Conformity, the terms of it made harder, 298.

Conyers, a Benedictin, 751. 784.

Conſpirators, met at *Weſt's* chambers, 933.

Conti, Prince of, his anſwer to the King of France 717.

Conventicles, forbid by a ſevere act in *England*, 335. & alſo in *Scotland*, 336. A new proſecution of them 495. 6. 508. 9. New ſeverities againſt Conventicles 530. 608. 737. 906. A Conventicle marched to *Glaſgow* & allarmed the Goverment, 828.

Convention of the Eſtates, in *Scotland*, 395. *Convention* Parliament in *England*, 1361.

Convocation, make alterations in the book of Common-Prayer, 301. they had it in their power then to have reformed many abuſes, 304. they give four ſubſidies to the King, 324.

Conway, Lord, Secretary of State tho quite ignorant of forrein affairs, 917.

Cook, Sir *William*, 10.

Cook, the regicide, 69.

Cook, one of the three miniſters ſent to preach in the vacant churches in *Scotland*, 532.

Cook, the Lawyer, his opinion of what was not treaſon by the old Statute in the trial of Lord *Ruſſel*, 953.

Cook, ſent to the Tower, 1107.

Cooper, *Aſhley*, 134. his character, 151. ſee *Shaftesbury*.

Cornbury, Lord, K. *Charles* angry with him without reaſon, 417.

Cornbury, Lord, went over with his Regiment to the Prince of *Orange* at *Exeter*, 1328.

Cornish, choſen Sheriff, 841. his character, *ibid.* 868. executed unjuſtly. 1080.

COSINS, Bishop, of *Durham*, 432.

COTTON, Sir *John* set up against D. *Burnet*. 702.

COVENANTERS, the three chief of them, 38. their character, *ibid.* disputes among the Covenanters during the usurpation, 94 &c.

COVENTRY, Sir *William*, Secretary to the Duke of *York*, 277. his character, 488. made Secretary of State, 554. 661. 683. against a Land Army, 727. an odd expression of his, 728. he explains it, 779.

COVENTRY, Sir *John*, reflects grosly on the King's amours, & has his nose cut' 494. 5.

Court of Session, judged a cause which occasioned a great distraction in *Scotland*, 657.

COURTIN French Embassador in *England*, 693 722.

CRAIG, Dr. believed K. *James* I. was poisoned. 20.

CRAWFORD, Earl of, 57. his character, 161. 175. opposes the Rescissory Act, 189. he declares against setting up Episcopacy, 210. 238. is one of those incapacitated by *Middleton*'s Act. 244.

CREQUI, Duke of, his Daughter proposed to be married to the D. of *York*, 629.

CREW, Bishop of *Duresme*, made Ecclesiastical Commissioner, 1121. votes for the new setttlement, 1385.

CROFTS, Bishop of *Hereford*, his character, 426.

CROISSY, Monsieur, Ambassadeur in *England*, 622. 650. 1290.

CROMARTY, Sir *George Mackenzie*, Ld. *Tarbat*, made after Earl of, 238. &c. 252.

CROMWELL, *Oliver*, argues with the *Scots* concerning the King's death, 62. comes into *Scotland*, 65. his dissimulation in the Parliament upon being charged with a design of putting a force upon the House, 67. 68. in some suspence about the King's death, 69. marches his army into *Scotland*, 81. and defeats the *Scots* at *Dunbar*, 82. 3. *Edenburg* capitulates, 83. he routs the Kings Army at *Worcester* 88. he displaces the governour of *Aberdeen*, 89. builds three citadels in *Scotland*, 89. Deputies sent to him from the General Assembly, 98. some of his maxims, 100. assures the *Presbyterians* of maintaining a publick ministry with all due encouragement, 103. studies to divide the common-wealth party, 140.

104. his arts in gaining all parties, *ibid.* debates among the Lawyers for ſetting up a King, 106. but oppoſed by the Enthuſiaſts, 107. ſome diſcourſe between *Cromwell* and Lord *Orrery* upon that ſubject, *ibid.* alſo between him, *Fleetwood*, and *Desborough*, upon which he refuſes the Kingſhip, 108. ſeizes a great ſum of money from the *Spaniards*, 111. ſends *Stoupe* into *France*, to enquire into the condition of the *Proteſtants*, 112. 113. he eſpouſes the *French* intereſt againſt that of the *Spaniards*, *ibid.* his deſign on the *Weſt-Indies*, 116. &c. and zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion abroad, 119. remarkable paſſages in his life, 122. his publick ſpirit, 126. all the world afraid of him, 127. his death, & the ruine of his family, 129. &c.

CROMWELL, *Richard*, declared Protector, 129. ſtrange enthuſiaſtick boldneſs at a faſt held at *Whitehall* by ſome preachers, 130. he reſigns his Protectorſhip, *ibid.* great diſorders follow, 131.

CROOK, Judge, gave judgement againſt the ſhipmoney, 675. he gave his Daughter to St. *Harb. Grimſtone*, *ibid*

CUDWORTH, his character, 306. 813.

CULPEPPER, Lord, ſent to the Pr. of *Orange* 1341. a bad man, 1378.

CUNNINGHAM, Dr. 199.

CUNNINGHAM, Sir *John*, his character, 394. 825.

D.

DADA, ſent Nuntio to King *James* II. 1174.

DALRIMPLE, Preſident of the Seſſion, his character, 656. propoſes the Confeſſion of faith [enacted 1567] to be the ſtandard for fixing the ſenſe of the term *PROTESTANT RELIGION*. 894.

DALZIEL, *General*, 352. defeats the rebels at *Pentland-Hill*, 389. his cruelties, 393.

DANBY, Earl of, Sr. *Thomas Oſborn*, a great friend to D. of *Buckingham*, 487. 8. Made Ld. Treaſurer, 624. ſet up to be patron of the church party, 662. attack'd by the Commons, 678. diſcourſe between Monſieur *Courtin* and *Danby*, 693. raiſes his creatures in the church, 695. &c. favours a propoſition for farming the Revenue of *Ireland*, & endeavours to bring the King off

from a *French* intereſt, 721. propoſes the marriage of the Prince of *Orange* with the Duke's daughter, 723. ſupports *Lauderdale*, 741. gets the King to deſire the Houſe to ſettle an additional revenue of 300000 *l.* during life, 743, becomes the moſt hated miniſter, 744. 747. 772. his letters to *Montague* for treating with the King of *France* for 300000 *l.* a year brought out, 775. impeached by the Commons, 776. but the Lords did not agree to the Commitment, 777. enters into a treaty with ſome of the country party for a new Parliament, 780. quits the treaſury, 795. perſuades the King to ſend the Duke beyond Sea, *ibid.* is pardon'd by the King, but proſecuted by the Commons, & a bill of attainder brought in againſt him, 797. &c. proſecuted and committed to the Tower, 810. he and the *Popiſh* Lords bailed out, 1009. joins with the Lords in inviting over the Prince of *Orange*, 1186. 1280. 1283. 1303. 1329, 1376. 1380.

DANGERFIELD's pretended. Meal tub plot, 834. 5. found guilty of perjury, and whip'd, 1058. his death, *ibid.*

DANKELMAN, firſt Miniſter to the *Elector* of *Brandebourg*, 1251.

DARTMOUTH, Lord, ſee *Legg.* 905. 936. ſent to demoliſh *Tangier*, 1011. made commander of the fleet againſt the Prince of *Orange*, 1285. his character, *ibid.* forced into *Plymouth*, 1326.

D'AVAUX, 1226 1285.

DAVIES, Mrs, the Player, entertained by K. *Charles*, 484.

DAVISON, and *Bruce* held to be Prophets, 21.

DEBATES, concerning the uniting with the *Presbyterians* at the Revolution, 290.

DELAMERE, Lord, 1054. tried and acquited, 1108. raiſes a Regiment in *Cheſhire* for the Prince of *Orange*, 1329. ſent to *London* from the Prince, 1346.

DENBIGH, Earl of, relied on a prediction, 42.

DENMARK, King of, 367. 8. 9. 495. 553.

DESBOROUGH, declares againſt *Cromwel's* being King, 108.

D'ESTREES, Cardinal, his converſation with the Author at *Rome* 1097. he delivers the K. of *France's* Manifeſto to the Pope, 1295.

DEVONSHIRE, Earl of, ſee

ſee *Cavendiſh*, he conſults with the Lords at the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s, and joins with them in adviſing the Prince of *Orange* to come over, 1281. 3.

DICKSON, one of the leading Miniſters in *Scotland*, 49.

DIGBY, Sir *Everard*, Father to Sr. *Kenelm*, his letters relating to the Gunpowder-plot for which he ſuffered without remorſe, 11.

Diſpenſing power of the King, *Herbert* declares for it, 1112.

DISSENTERS, of different ſorts counted by King *James*, II. 1167. debates and reſolutions among them, 1168.

DOLBEN, made Archbiſhop of *York*, 1006 his character, *ibid.* and death, 1122.

DOLBEN, turn'd out of the Kings bench, 923.

DOMINICO, Sigr. at *Rome*, his ſtatue of *Tiberius*, 1020. *

DON JOHN, of *Auſtria*, 118. 119. 755.

DONATISTS, as wild as Presbyterians, 501.

DORCHESTER, Mrs. *Sidley* made Counteſs of 1132. The King went often to her. 1252. of her ſon the Duke of *Berwick*, *ibid.*

DORSET, Earl of, his character, 485. 550.

DORSET, Lady, 1331.

DOUGHTY, Dr. Chaplain to the Princeſs of *Orange*, 1379.

DOWGLAS, Earl of *Angus*, his mariage with King *James* IV. Widow, made null, 23. Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, born of that mariage, *ibid.*

DOWGLAS, Miniſter, 48. would not be Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, 231.

DOWNING, ſent Ambaſſador into *Holland*, his character, 326. 7.

DRUMLANERICK, Lord, joins the Prince of *Orange* at *Sherburn*, 1330.

DRUMMOND, Ld. *Strathallen*'s account of *Cromwel*'s conference with *Scotch* Commiſſioners, 61. 2. ſent to *Paris* to invite King *Charles* II. into *Scotland*, 92. 352. 397. impriſon'd. 666.

DRYDEN, his immodeſty & impurity, 496

DUFFUS, Lord, Ld. *Lorn*'s letter to him intercepted, 240.

DUGDALE's evidence of the plot, 781. 787. 793. 818. 854. 858. his diſcovery of the plot at *Oxford*, 878. his credit ruin'd. 880.

DUMBAR, the Scotch army routed there by *Cromwel*, 82.

DUNBARTON, Earl of, a Papiſt, D. *Hamilton's* Brother, 765.

DUNCOMB, his character, 487.

DUNDEE, taken by ſtorm, & plundered, 88.

DUNDEE, Earl of, an implacable enemy to Presbiterians, truſted by the Epiſcopal party, 1354.

DUNFERLING, Earl of, a Convenanter, 37.

DUNFRIES, Earl of, *Belhaven*, tho blind, reſolved to ſtab him, 26. rejected by Lord *Balmerinoch*, and why, 32.

DUNFRIES, Earl of, a friend of Ld. *Middleton*, 350.

DUNKIRK, ſold to the *French*, 281. 2.

DUNMOOR, a Lawyer, diſcovers Lord *Balmerinoch's* petition, 30.

DUPPA, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, 290.

DUTCH Fleet worſted by the *Engliſh* under the Duke of *York*, 360. engage the *Engliſh* for two days, in which they have the ſuperiority, 378. their Fleet comes into the *Frith* under *Van Ghendt*, and from thence, having join'd *de Ruyter*, to *Chatham*, and burnt our Fleet, 390. 400. *Holmes* makes an attempt on the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet. 555. the *Dutch* Fleet ſurpriſe the *Engliſh* Fleet at *Solbay*, 581.

DUTCH, in great extremities, 582. 3. 4. 5. &c. 599. but ſaved by ſome extraordinary providence, *ibid.*

DYCKVELT, ſent Ambaſſador to *England*, at his return to *Holland* like to be cut in pieces, 585. his character, 590. 604. 1076. is ſent to *England* with inſtructions how to manage all ſorts of people, 1179. 1180. 81. 2. his conduct there, 1182. 1183. 4. 5.

DYSERT, Counteſs of 289. 404. 5. 6. 510. 526.

E.

EARL, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, declares againſt the five mile Act, 225. 371.

Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, ſet up againſt law 1121. ſuſpended the Biſhop of *London*, 1122. 3. 4.

EDENBURGH, the Biſhops enter there in great pomp. 230. The ſee of *Edinb.* kept vacant for *Douglas*, 231. A *tumult at Edinb.* 1126.

EDWARD, I. King, had removed the regiſters of *Scotland* to the Tower of *London.* 176.

Εικων Βασιλικη, account of that book. 76. 77.

ELISABETH, Queen, diſconcerted all the popiſh plots 12. took cautionary Towns for the money ſhe lent to the *Dutch*, 17. was the arbiter of Chriſtendom 21. She ſucceeded happily to the Crown in the 2. criſis of the Proeſtant Religion 562. The *Spaniſh* fleet intended to deſtroy her, 563. how ſhe defeated the deſign of that fleet, 565. She paſſed an Act empowering the Parliament to limit the ſucceſſion of the Crown, 805. 807. An aſſociation to ſecure her againſt Papiſts, 850. She was provoked by the Puritans, & paſſ'd a ſevere Act againſt them, 863.

ELPHINSTON, Secretary of State, made Lord *Balmerinoch* by *James* I. and employ'd by him to aſſure the Papiſts that the King would connive at them, 5. he is condemn'd for getting that King's hand to a letter written to the Pope, but preſently pardon'd, 6. ſee *Balmerinoch*.

ELY, Biſhop of, one of the Commiſſioners ſent to the Pr. of *Orange*, 1341.

EPISCOPACY, ſet up in Scotland againſt the bent of the nation 8. 170. 234. prejudices infuſed againſt it, 257. 8.

ESSEX, Earl of, 59. 60. 414. his character, 703. ſent Embaſſador to *Denmark*, *ibid.* his great reputation in the affair of the Flag, 704. made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 704. &c. 760. put at the head of the treaſury, 800. propoſes limitations of the Duke's authority, 802. but is againſt the excluſion, 801. 803. is againſt the Biſhops right to vote, 823. 4. 832. quits the treaſury, 835. argues for the bill of Excluſion, 845. 850. 862. 875. 884. 5. 925. 927. 8 ſent to the Tower, 948. his behaviour there, and death, 949. 950. ſuſpicions of his death, 975.

ESSEX, Counteſs of, 19.

D'ESTRADES, French Ambaſſador, offers to the States a diviſion of the low Countries, 594.

L'ESTRANGE, Sr. *Roger*, a copious writer, & fomenter of diviſions, 812.

D'ESTREES, Cardinal *ſee in* D.

ERNLEY, 869.

EVERARD, en evidence, 867.

EVERS, a Jeſuit, 781. 2. 818.

Exchequer, ſhut up, by K. *Charles*, 554.

Exciſe, levied againſt law, 1032. & farmed, 1334.

Excluſion bill, 801. 3. Arguments forit, 804. 5. Argu-

guments againſt it. 806. 7. 8. 9. &c. That bill again taken up. 843. paſſed by the Commons 844. rejected by the Lords 845. Expedients upon it. 850. The Commons inſiſting on it the Parliament was diſſolved, 865.

F.

FABRICIUS, a famous *German* divine, his account of *Frederick* 2. the Elector *Palatin* his turning Calviniſt, 16.

FAGEL, Penſioner, his character, 589. 945. 999. 1147. his letter to *Steward*, 1221. 1300. 1306.

FAIRFAX, Sir *Thomas*, 40. 69. 132. 133.

FAIRFAX, Dr. 133.

FAIRFOUL, made Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, 213. his character, *ibid.* avoids all ſerious diſcourſe with *Leightoun*, 227. turns paralitick, 258. dies, 340.

FALCONBRIDGE, Earl of, married one of *Cromwel's* daughters, 131. 661.

FALKLAND, Lord, of a great character, 289.

FALMOUTH, *Berkeley*, Earl of, why ſo much in favour, 157. kill'd in a fight at Sea againſt the *Dutch*, 362.

FARMER, refuſed by the Fellows of *Magdalen College* to be choſen their Preſident, 1162.

FATIO, diſcovers a deſign againſt the Pr. of *Orange*, 1144.

FAUR, of the *Sorbon*, his character, 970.

FELL, Biſhop of *Oxford*, entruſted with the care of the young Earl of *Clancarty*, 1023. his death and character, 1154. 5.

FELTON, ſtabs the Duke of *Buckingham*, 72.

FENWICK, the *Jeſuit*, his trial, 780. 792. 816.

FERDINAND, Archduke, an enemy to Proteſtants, 13. King of *Bohemia*, & depoſed, *ibid.*

FERGUSON, meets the conſpirators at *Weſt's* chambers, 933. 4. 5. 986. and the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Argile* in *Holland*, 1046. 7. 1064. 1066.

FERRIERE, F. the French Kings Confeſſor, before F. *la Chaiſe*, 654. 698.

FEVERSHAM, Earl of, attended King *Charles* II. when dying, 1011* made commander of King *James's* army, 1067. his character, *ibid.* ſent with a meſſage to the Prince of *Orange* at *Windſor*, 1344. 5.

FEVERSHAM, K. *James* taken there by fiſhermen, 1339.
LE FEVRE, a Phyſician, aſſiſted at viewing K *Charles*'s body, 1014.
Fifth Monarchy men, how managed by *Cromwel*, 104.
FILMER's, *Patriarcha*, anſwered by *Sidney*, 978. 980. 981.
FINCH, Attorney General, 372. his character, 648. 952. 954. 1110. 1241.
FINCH, Dr. ſent from *Oxford* to the Pr. of *Orange*, 1333.
Fines rais'd on the Church Eſtates at the Reſtoration, ill applied, 305.
Fire of *London*, 379. 385.
FITTON, made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, 1132.
FITZHARDING, Lord, Brother to Ld. *Berkeley*, 490.
FITZHARRIS, 867. 8. his trial, 874. 5. 6. baſe practices upon him at his death, 878.
FITZPATRICK, married the D. of *Ormonds* Siſter, 489.
FLEETWOOD, and *Desborough*'s diſcourſe with *Cromwell* about the Kingſhip, 109.
FLETCHER, Sir *John*. Attorney General, his character, 165, 181.
FLETCHER, *Andrew*, enters into the Duke of *Monmouth*'s party, 1046. 7. 1065.
FORBES, firſt Biſhop of *Edenburgh*, 29. his character, *ibid.*
FOUNTAIN, and other Lawyers, manage the debates very high for ſetting up a King, 106.
FOUQUET, makes large offers to the Earl of *Clarendon* for his friendſhip, 272.
FOURBIN, Cardinal, manages and aſſiſts the malecontents in *Hungary*, 965.
FOWLER, Dr. one of the eminent Clergy men, S134
Franchiſes, at *Rome*, diſputes about them, 1175. 1271. 1296.
FRANCIS, Father, refuſed for Maſter of Arts at *Cambridge*, though he had King *James*'s *Mandamus*, 1159. 1160.
FREDERICK, Elector Palatine, his marriage with King *James*'s daughter, 12. accepts of the Crown of *Bohemia*, 13. perplexity of his affairs, 14. is overthrown, flies to *Holland*, and dies there, 15. 16.
FREDERICK II. declares for the *Helvetian* confeſſion, and

and why, 16.
FREDERICK HENRY, see ORANGE.
FRENCH King's pretenſions to *Flanders*, 417. ſucceſs in *Holland*, 579. 580, 581. 2. 3. he goes back to *Paris*, 596. a ſolemn debate held there what title to give him, 598. takes *Maſtricht*, 630. and *Valenciennes*, 715. alſo *Conde*, 716. and beſieges *Bouchain*, 716. declines a battle offer'd by the Prince of *Orange*, *ibid.* a pleaſant paſſage between the King and the Prince of *Conti*, 717. how the King recived the news of the Prince of *Orange*'s marriage with the Duke's daughter, 726. the King takes *Gent* and *Ypres*, 728. encourages a rebellion in *Hungary*, and draws a great army together near the frontier of *Germany*, 965, poſſeſſes himſelf of *Luxembourg*, 967. and by what means, *ibid.* miſunderſtandings between the Court of *Rome*, and that of *France*, 1414. the *Proteſtants* in *France* perſecuted ſtill, *ibid.* *France* and *Rome* in a ſtate of war about the *Franchiſes*, 1271. the Court of *France* gives the alarm to King *James* of the deſigns of the Prince of *Orange*, 1284. and offers him what forces he ſhould deſire, 1298. in a memorial to the States they own an alliance with King *James* and threaten them if they ſhould invade *England*, 1288. ſtrange conduct of *France* in prohibiting the manufacture of *Holland*, 1290. Manifeſto of war againſt the Emperor, 1291. reflections made upon it, 1293. another manifeſto againſt the Pope, 1295. cenſures alſo upon it, 1296
FROST, ſent down to *Scotland* by *Saville* with a forgery, 38.
FURSTEMBERG, Dean of *Cologn*. ſeiz'd on by the Emperour, 630. made a Cardinal, 1270. aims at being choſen Coadjutor to *Colen*, 1273. but miſſes it, and ſucceds worſe at *Liege*, 1274. the *French* King in a manifeſto reſolves to ſupport him, 1292.

G.

GALWAY, *Rovigny* Earl of his ſtory of the K. of *France* & Prince of Conti, 717. ſent over as Miniſter of *France* into *England*, 747. 1035. 1283
GAGE, gives *Cromwell* an account of the feebleneſs and great wealth of the *Weſt-Indies*, 116.
GARROWAY, and *Lee* vote 1200000 *l.* to be given for a ſupply, 625.
GAUDEN, Biſhop, the writer of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, 77

GAUNT, Mrs. her execution, 1077
GEE, Dr. a Champion againſt Popery, 1118
GENEVA, the Authors abode there, & character of the people, 1138. 9
GENOA, bombarded by the *French*, 1011. abject compliment of the *Genoeſe* Senators at *Verſailles*, 1012
GEORGE, Prince Royal of *Denmark*, marries Princeſs *Anne*, 965. commits an error, 1067. ſends notice to the Author of deſigns againſt him 1220. 1254. 1283. joins the Prince of *Orange* at *Sherburne*, 1330
GERMAN, a Jeſuit. See St. *Germain*.
GHENT, taken by the French, 728
GHENDT, *Van*, the Dutch Admiral, ſent into the *Firth*, returns & joins with *de Ruyter* in burning the Engliſh fleet at *Chatham*, 399. 400.
GIBSON, Colonel, made Deputy-Governour of *Exeter*, 1332,
GILMORE, obtains a proviſo to be added to the *Scotch* Act concerning the King's power over the Militia, 184. is made Preſident of the Seſſion, and oppoſes *Middletoun*'s endeavours to get *Argile* attainted as acceſſary to the King's death, 197
GILLESPYS, leading preachers, their character, 49
GIRALD, a Prieſt, 783
GLASGOW, the See of, filled by *Fairfoul*, 213. *Burnet*, 340 by *Leighton*, 524. Again by *Burnet*, 663. 4. By *Roſs*, 1006 by *Paterſon*, 1130. Dr. *Burnet* Profeſſor of Divinity in *Glasgow*, 522. Several Lords, &c. meet there, 523. A Conventicle there alarms the country, 828
GLENCAIRN, Earl of, gets the tribe of the *Macdonalds* to declare for the King, 89. accuſes falſely Sir *Robert Murray*, 91 144. 164. made Chancellour, 174. ſent down to *Scotland* to call together the committee of Eſtates, 178. ſeizes on the proteſting Miniſters and their remonſtrance, 179. 253. oppoſes *Sharp*'s violent motions, 338.
GLOCESTER, Duke, 278
GLYN, one of the Lawyers, vehement for ſetting up a King, 106.
GODDEN, a Popiſh Author, 784. 56.
GODFREY, Sir *Edmondbury*, his character, 755. murder'd, 756. the body found, 757. 761. the murderers diſcover'd, 783.
GODOLPHIN, Sir *Willliam*, Ambaſſadour in *Spain*, 758

GODOLPHIN, *Sidney*, put into the Treasury, 800. his character, 839. declares openly for the Exclusion, 842. made Secretary of State, 1010. quits that post and is made a Baron, *ibid.* has a hand in the new scheme formed at Lady *Portsmouth*'s, 1007*. made one of the Queen's house hold, 1032. and sent by King *James* to the Prince of *Orange* at *Hungerford* to know his demands, 1335

GOMARUS, Divinity Professor at *Leyden*, antagonist of *Arminius*, 570

GOODENOUGH, a conspirator, 934. 937. 986. 1080

GOODWIN, *John*, head of the Fifth-monarchy-men, 104. escapes all censure at the Restoration, 265

GOODWIN, *Thomas*, bold expression in his prayer, 130

GORDON of *Buckey*, sent with the news of the Earl of *Murray*'s murder to the King, 24. he gives good advice to Lord *Balmerinoch*'s Jury, 33

GORDON, Duke of, got part of *Argiles* estate 108. his education neglected by *Sharp*, 396. He is made governour of *Edenburgh* Castle, 1353

GOVAN, executed with *Guthry*, 202

GOVAN, a Jesuit, 782. his trial, 816. 818

GOWRY's conspiracy, one thing related which has been omitted by all other Historians, to shew that it might be true, 22. 34

GRAFTON, Duke of, joins the Prince of *Orange* at *Axminster*, 1329. an answer of his to the King much talked of, 1330

GRAHAM, employed to find out witnesses against Lord *Shaftsbury*, 881

GRANVELL, Cardinal, chief Minister of *Spain*, 562

GRANT, a Papist, stopt the water pipes at *Islington*, 382

GREEN, murderer of *Godfrey*, 783. 4. 5

GREENVILL, made Earl of *Bath*, 155

GRENARD, Lord, kept measures with *Tyrconnell*, 1355

GREY, Lady *Jane*, the struggle for her was hurtfull to the Protestant Religion, 931

GREY, Lord, by an artifice procured the passing of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, 849. was at *Shepherd*'s with *Monmouth*, 926. sent to the *Tower*, but made his escape, 944. met *Argyle* and *Monmouth* in *Holland*, 1046. 7. his cowardice, 1065. pardon'd, 1073

GRIMSTONE desires the King to hasten matters in the *Isle of Wight* Treaty, 65. 6 charges *Cromwell* with a design of putting force upon the House of

of Commons, 67. 134. 248. his character, 675. 684. the character of his wife, 677. his death, 1018

DE GROOT, Dutch Ambaſſador at *Paris*, 553. 583

GROTIUS, put in Priſon, 15. 571. his principles of government, 1247

GUICHE, Comte de, his intrigue with Madame, 547

GROVE, in the Popiſh plot, 762. 780

GUILFORD Lord, See, *North.*

GUISE, Houſe of, their practices to embroil *England*, 3. 4

GUNNING, Biſhop, a manager at the *Savoy conference*, his character, 296. maintains in the Houſe of Lords the Church of *Rome* was not idolatrous, 767. &. his death and further character, 1007

GUN-POWDER Plot, 10

GUSTAVUS *Adolphus*, 566

GUTHRY, and ſome more of the proteſting Miniſters remonſtrance to the King, 179. he is accuſed, his ſpeech and execution, 200. 201. 202

GUTHRY another, fiery, preacher 385. 392

GUYN, Mrs. *Elenor*, her character, 484. 5. 605. 1013*

H.

HABEAS *Corpus* Act carried by an odd artifice in the Houſe of Lords, 849

HACKSTON executed, 889

HAGUE, the Kings Sollicitor, draws a petition. 29. 31

HALES, a Banker, tried upon a letter found in *Armſtrong's* pocket, 1020. 1021

HALE, Sir *Matthew*, moves for a Committee to digeſt fit propoſitions to be ſent to the King at *Breda*, 139. eſteemed an upright Judge 286. he is for a comprehenſion of the Diſſenters, 427. his opinion of the old Statute of treaſon in *Ruſſel's* caſe, 953

HALE's, Sir *Edward*, trial upon the *Teſt* Act, 1110. &c. attends King *James* in his deſertion, 1337.

HALEWYN, of *Dort*, 72 568. his character, 590. 664. 665

HALL, made Biſhop of *Oxford*, 1238

HALLIFAX, Marquiſs, one of the *Brook-houſe* Committee, 491. his character, *ibid.* oppoſes the *Teſt*, 681. is diſmiſt the Council, 706. 712. 713. 749. 760 764. brought into Council again, 800. is for limitations, and againſt the excluſion, 802. 3. made an Earl, 824. 835. 6. 843. is champion againſt the Bill of *Excluſion*, 845. The Houſe of Commons addreſs againſt him, *ibid.*

ibid. 847. offers an expedient in reference to the Duke, 850. acquits Lord *Stafford*, 860. 866. a saying of his against Addressers, 873. 882. 3. 901. he charges Lord *Rochester* with bribery, 917 his services for the Duke of *York* are forgot, 918. 964. he brings *Monmouth* into favour, 981. 2. 3. a jest of his upon Lord *Rochester*, 1010. advises the King not to employ Col. *Maccarty*, 1003.* 1004.* his conference with a Missionary of *Siam*, 1005. 6.* complains in Council of razures in the Treasury Books, 1008.* moves in Council to examine whether all Officers had taken the Test, 1083. 4 he is turned out, 1085. 6. argues for the Test, 1104. meets often at the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s with other Lords for giving advices to the Prince of *Orange*, 1186. 1280. he is one of the Lords sent by the King to treat with the Prince at *Hungerford*, 1335. 1346. 1358. his zeal for the Prince, 1376. 1378. 1381.

HALLOWAY's conspiracy, 934. confession and execution, 985. 6

HALLOWAY, Judge, 1243

HALTON, Lord, comes into play, 543. 730. 732. 3. 4. accused of perjury, 893

HAMDEN often meets with the Duke of *Monmouth*, 929. his character, *ibid.* 932. sent to the Tower, 948. his trial, 985. 988. 1044. 1073

HAMILTON, Duke, 46. has secret powers from King *Charles* I. to offer conditions to the *Scots*, 51. 2. 3. comes into favour with King *Charles* II. 78. 9. oblidged to part from him, 80

HAMILTON, Duke, his character, 162. argues against the Rescissory act, 189. is for delaying the Restoration of Episcopacy, 210. and against violent turning out the *Presbyterians*, 250. 251. made President of the Convention, 395. 406. 520. 541. 543. 606. 7. 644. 5. 6. 655. 659. 660. 666. 710. comes up to the King to complain of the *Highlanders*, 740. 774. 825. 898. is zealous for the unalterableness of the Succession of the Crown, 891. 1129. calls a meeting of the *Scots* Nobility in *London*, and they address the Prince of *Orange*, 1355

HAMILTON, Mr heads the rebellion at *Bothwell-Bridge*, 828

HAMILTON, Lieutenant General, sent to treat with *Tyrconnel* in *Ireland*, his treachery, 1359. 1360.

HAMILTON consecrated Bishop of *Galloway*, 213. his character, 214

HAMILTON a profane wretch made Bishop of *Dunkeld*, 1130
HAMILTON, Duchess, 506. 535. 1318.
HAMMOND's, *Henry*, character, 290
HANOVER, Prince of, comes over to make addresses to Princess *Anne*, 965
HANOVER, Duke of, 1268
HARBORD, Sir *Charles*, Chairman of the Committee 685. his character, *ibid.*
HARCOURT, 782. his trial, 816. 822
HARLAY, President of the Parliament of *Paris*, 969
HARO, Don *Lewis*, Minister of Spain, 135
HARRINGTON, 104. is for a Parliament elected by ballot, 131. 2
HARRISON, the regicide, executed, 264
HARVEY's memorable answer to the King, 679
HASCARD, Dr. Rector of St. *Clements*, 1015
HAWKINS, Minister of the Tower, 878
HAY, of Naughton, betrays a secret, 30
HEDGES, Sir *Charles*, the Kings Advocate, 1165
HEIDEGGER, Divinity Professor at *Zurich*, 1185
HEMINGS, Apothecary, his story of the death of the Prince of *Wales*, 1259
HENDERSON, a Scotch Presbiterian, 48
HENLY's story of King *Charles* being poison'd, 1016*
HENRIETTA, Princess Royal, 280
HENRY III. & IV. of *France*, 566. 772
HENRY VI. of *England*, 681
HENRY VII. & VIII. 805
HENRY, Prince, believed to be poisoned, 10
HENSHAM, Mr. sent to *Denmark*, 551
D'HERAPINE, a violent persecutor in *France*, 1095
HERBERT, Sir *Edward*, made Chief Justice, 1111. his character, *ibid.* he gives judgment for the King's dispensing power, *ibid.* goes the western circuit, 1116. made one of the ecclesiastical Commissioners, 1121. and is on the trial of the seven Bishops, 1243
HERBERT, Admiral, his firmness in not voting for the repeal of the Test, 1114. goes over to the Prince in *Holland*, and quits King *James*, 1276. his character, *ibid.* made Lieutenant-General-Admiral of the *Dutch* fleet, 1299. 1305. 1308, 1311. 1321
HESSE, Landgrave of, 1267

Hewes, Curate of St. Martins, 886
Heylin, leſſens Bp. *Laud* in his Life. 76
Hickes, Dr. 735
Hicks, a diſſenting Miniſter, 1078
Hide, Chancellour, 92. 101. 138 9. blamed for the King's coming in without a treaty, 141. receives *Sharp* into great confidence, 144. See Earl of *Clarendon*.
Hide, the Son, his character, 425. put into commiſſion of the Treaſury, 800. 839. 847. 896. charg'd with bribery, 917. See Earl of *Rocheſter*.
Hill, one of *Godfreys* Murderers, 784. 5. 6
Hobbes, 158. his principles, 307. 8
Holland, diſorders there, 14
Hollis, Lord, adviſes the King how to ſave Lord *Strafford*, 45. and to put an end to the war by a treaty, 55. 56. 65. his character, 153. 4. and behaviour at the *French* Court, 341 oppoſes a parliamentary Teſt, 681 711 764. is againſt the Biſhops voting in trials for Treaſon, 811
Hollman an eminent Papiſt, 699
Holmes accuſed for correſponding with *Argile*, 598
Holmes attack'd the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, 555
Home's Trial, & execution, on bad proof. 907
Hone's execution, 959
Honyman Bp. of *Orkney*, his violence, 192
Honslow-heath, the Army encamped there, 1169
Hooker's book of Eccleſiaſtical polity, 1203
Hooper, wrote againſt Popery, 1118
Hope, Sir *Thomas*, a ſubtil lawyer, his ſlow proceedings in bringing back the Church land to the Crown, 30
Hough, Dr. choſen Preſident of *Magdalen College*, 1162 but turn'd out by the eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, 1163. 4
Howard of *Eſcrick*, impriſoned for delivering petitions to the King, 49
Howard Earl of *Carliſle*, 126. 759.
Howard, Lord, his correſpondence, 663. 4. 5. 759. 876. 7. brings *Monmouth* and *Sidney* to be acquainted, 928. 9. 935. 940. 945. 6. 7. his confeſſion and examination, 946. his evidence againſt Lord *Ruſſel*, 951. 2. 3. againſt *Sidney*, 976. 977. 980. and againſt *Hamden*, 985. 1011*
Howard, made Cardinal; 700. kind to Dr. *Burnet*, 1097. 1098. 1125. 1176. 1173. 1225

HOWELL, Recorder of *London*, 380
HUBERT, *Thomas* of *Liege*, 16
HUBERT ſeiz'd, and confeſs'd he ſet *London* on fire, 380
HUDDLESTON a Prieſt, gives King *Charles* II. the Sacrament in his laſt ſickneſs, 1010* 1011*
HULST, *Van*, employed by the Prince of *Orange*, 1311
HUME, Sir *Patrick*, correſponds with *Argile*, 1044
HUMIERES, 966
HUNTLY, Marquiſs of, murders the Earl of *Murray*, 24. truſts to aſtrology. 54.
HUNTLEY, Marquis, after Duke of *Gordon*, 297. 8. 396
HUTCHINSON, a learned Scotch presbyterian, 505. 513 a conference between him and *Leightoun*, about admitting the *Presbyterians* into the Church, 527. 8. 9. 535. refuſes to accept of the conceſſions, 537. 8

I.

JAMAICA taken by *Cromwell's* fleet, after miſſing of *Hiſpaniola*, 118. 19.
JAMES I. King, diviſions in *Scotland* during his minority, 2. inclined to a *French* intereſt, but artfully diſguis'd it, 3. afterwards he was in the intereſt of *England*, 4. marryed a Daughter of *Denmark*, and wholly manag'd by Queen *Eliſabeth*, *ibid.* the Kirk diſguſted at his fickleneſs in Religion, 5. the King ſtudies to gain the *Papiſts*, and to ſecure his ſucceſſion to the crown of *England*, 6. his errors in government, 7. ſets up Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, with a deſign to carry matters further, 8. afraid of the *Jeſuits*, 11. caution'd by Sir *Dudly Carlton* to take more care of himſelf, 12. married his Daughter to the Elector *Palatine*, *ibid*, refuſed to acknowledge him King of *Bohemia*, and to aſſiſt him, 14. he parted with the cautionary Towns, 17. and broke the greatneſs of the Crown by giving away the Crown Eſtates, and the regal authority over the Wards, 18. other errors in his reign, 19. his death and character, 20. He was ſuſpected to have unjuſtly taken off *Gowry* 22. as he had done *Murray*, 24
JAMES II. King, See *York*. He begins his reign with great advantages, but it proved inglorious 1025. his firſt education, 1026. he learned War under *Turenne*, 1028. was Admiral of *England*, *ibid.* proclaimed King, but without ſhouts of joy, 1029. his firſt Speech well received, *ibid* a

new set of flattering Addresses made to him from all parts of *England*, 1030. customs & excise levied against law, 1032. his coldness to those who had been for the exclusion, 1034. goes openly to Mass, *ibid.* seem'd resolved not to be govern'd by *French* Counsels, but to act on equal terms with that haughty Monarch, 1034. the King's course of life, 1036. a Parliament summon'd, 1038. his coronation, 1042. got all he desired of the *Scotch* Parliament 1055. & his revenue settled for life by the English Parliament, who trust their religion to his word, 1059. was lifted up with successes against *Argile* and *Monmouth*, 1074. but it had an ill effect on his affairs, *ibid.* great cruelties committed by his soldiers at *Taunton*, and much greater by *Jefferies* in his western Circuit, 1075. with which the King was well pleased, *ibid.* the nation much changed by this management, 1081. he continues the *Papists* in commission, notwithstanding the Test Act, 1082. great disputes for & against the Tests, *ibid.* the King declares against the Tests, 1085 & resolves to model *Ireland* 1086. his speech against the test 1102. he is much offended at the address for observing the Laws, 1106. disgraces those that had voted for the Test, and argues with some of them in his his closet, 1106. at last prorogues the Parliament, 1107. He asks the Judges secretly their opinion about the dispensing power, 1111. all regard to the Test is laid aside, 1113. Father *Petre* in high favour, 1115. the King declares for a Toleration, *ibid* and sets up an Ecclesiastical Commission, 1121. sends Earl of *Murray* to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, 1127. and recommends the taking off all penal Laws and Tests, *ibid.* the Parliament refuses to comply with his desires, 1129. upon which it is dissolved, 1130. the King makes Mrs. *Sidley* Countess of *Dorchester*, 1132. attempts to get many to change their Religion, 1134. witty answers made by several of them, *ibid.* & 1135. designs talked of against *Holland*, 1138. attempts upon the Universities, 1158. 9. 1160. 1. 2. 3. the President and Fellows of *Magdalen Colledge* turn'd out, 1165. the King breaks with the Church, *ibid.* and courts the Dissenters, 1166. 7. his army encamp'd on *Hounslow-Heath*, 1169. he sends an Embassador to *Rome*, 1170. who manages every thing unhappily, 1171. 2, 3. *Albeville* sent Envoy to

to *Holland*, 1178. his Negotiations with the Prince of *Orange* 1181. the King's designs discover'd by a Letter writ by the *Jesuits* of *Liege*, 1184. 5. he designs to break through all the Laws, and sends a Proclamation to *Scotland*, setting forth an absolute power vested in him, so that all his Subjects were bound to obey him without reserve, 1187. which is much censur'd, *ibid.* afterwards this Proclamation is let fall, and another is more cautiously worded, 1189. his declaration for Toleration in *England* gives great offence, *ibid.* Addresses from the Dissenters, 1190. with which the King and the Priests are delighted out of measure, 1191. his indignation against the Church Party; 1192. the Parliament is dissolved, 1194. the King gives the Pope's Nuntio a solemn reception at *Windsor*. *ibid.* and makes a progress through many parts of *England*, 1195. and recommends to them what Parliament men to chuse, *ibid.* a change of Magistrates in *London*, and over *England*, 1196. the King commands the Sheriffs to invite the Nuntio to the Lord Mayor's feast, 1197. questions put about the elections of Parliament-men, 1199. the King writes to the Princess of *Orange* about religion, to which the Princess answers, 1201. 2. 3. 4. the King receives one *Steward* into favour and confidence, 1221. Father *Petre* made Privy Counsellor, 1224. the confidence of the Jesuits, 1225. the King demands his Regiments in the service of the States, 1227. a new declaration for Toleration, 1229. which the Clergy are order'd to read, but refuse, 1231. 2. 3. the Archbishop & six Bishops petition the King, 1234. the King speaks roughly to them, 1236. their answer to the King, *ibid.* the King orders the Bishops to be prosecuted, 1238. and sent to the Tower, 1239. but they are soon after discharged, and tried at *Westminster-Hall*, 1240. 41. and acquitted, to the great joy of the Town and Nation, 1243. 4. the Clergy cited to answer for their disobedience, 1244. 5. the effect this had every where, *ibid* the Queen gives out she is with child, 1252. account of that birth, 1253. 4, 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. &c. a fleet set out, and the command given to *Strickland*, 1264. the Court have fresh alarms from abroad, and great mortifications at home, 1267,

the Prince of *Orange*'s design made known by *France*, 1284, the King publishes those advices too rashly, *ibid.* *Strickland* recalled, and the command of the fleet given to Lord *Dartmouth*, 1285. Recruits from *Ireland* refused, *ibid.* offers made by the *French* to assist the King not entertain'd, 1287. the *French* own an alliance with the King to the States, 1288. consultation in *England* among the Popish party to seize all supected persons, but opposed by the Earl of *Sunderland*, 1315. the King's army about 30000. he endeavours to lay the heat of the Nation, but in vain, 1316. the proceedings of the Court, so forced and cold, easily seen through, 1317. proofs brought for the birth of the Prince of *Wales*, 1317. 18. 19. but apparently defective, and increase the jealousy of the Nation, *ibid.* the King's fleet shatter'd by a storm, and forced into *Portsmouth*, 1326. the King comes down to *Salisbury*, 1328. upon the Prince's landing, some of the army go over to the Prince, and several of the Lords forsake the King, 1329. as do also his own children, 1330. the King in great confusion hastens back to *London*, 1331. and sends for the Protestant Lords in town, 1334. who advise him to call a general meeting of all the Privy Connsellors and Peers, and that he should send commissioners to the Prince to treat with him, 1335. strange counsels suggested to the King, and Queen by the Priests and violent Papists, 1336. the King goes away in disguise, and gives orders for the army to be disbanded, 1337. he is discover'd, and brought back to *Feversham*, 1339. what followed upon this accident, 1340. different advices given concerning the King's person, 1343 the Privy Council leave it to the Earl of *Feversham* to do what he thought fit in that matter, who sends the Guards, and brings him to *Whitehall*, 1344 the King sends *Feversham* to *Windsor*, to desire the Prince to come to St. *James*'s to consult with him, 1344. upon the Prince's answer the King retires to *Rochester* with some of the *Dutch* Guards to attend him, 1347. the King well pleas'd with an answer of one of those Guards, 1348. the Queen in a Letter presses him to come over to *France*, 1352. he secretly leaves *Rochester*, and gets safe over thither, *ibid.*

JANE, Dr. one of the Kings

Kings Chaplains. 1136.
JANSENISTS 219. 1014
JEFFERIES, Sir *George*, 848. 954. made Lord Chief Juſtice, 972. 3. 977. 979. 989. 991. 1009. 1019. 1021. his cruelties in the Weſt, 1075. made a Baron, 1076. and Lord Chancellor, 1104. 1121. 1161. 1170. ſent to the Towei, 1340
JENKINS, Sir *Leolin*, ſent Plenipotentiary to the treaty of *Cologn*, 626. and alſo to the treaty of *Nimeguen*, 745. his letter to the King about *Montague's* correſpondence with the Pope's Nuntio, 774. made Secretary of State & chief manager for the Court, 844. his character, *ibid.* and violent practices towards the city of *London*, 913. 916. 17. 925. 936. 7. is diſmiſt from being Secretary, 1009.
JENNISON's evidence of the plot, 789
JERMYN, Earl of St. *Albans*, 59
Jeſuits, five tried together, 816
JEWS, encouraged by *Cromwell*, & uſefull to him for intelligence, 110
Indemnity granted by K. *Charles* II. in *Scotland* 237. in *England*, 269
Independents, 1167
INSCILLING ſecured by ſome brave men, who refuſe to take a Garriſon of *Tyrconnell*, 1355
INGOLDSBY, 133
INNOCENT XI. Pope, willing to ſee Dr. *Burnet* 1097. did not eaſily grant diſpenſations 1125. his anſwer to the complaints of the Engliſh Ambaſſador, 1173. his character, 1174
JOHN, *Don*, of *Auſtria*, 118. 119 755
St. JOHNS, a Lawyer, pleads for making *Cromwell* King. 106
JOHNSTOUN a rich Merchant at *Edinburgh*. 22
JOHNSTOUN, afterwards Secretary of State, 1280. 1283
JONES, Sir *William*, 701. 763. 801. 844. 860. 862. 866 869. 872. 884. 973
IRELAND ſettled, 286
IRELAND's trial, 780. 789. 792
IRETON, the chief perſon in taking away the King's life, 69. 74.
Iriſh maſſacre, original of it, 60
ISABELLA, Archdutcheſs, 14. 72
Junto or Cabal, 557
JURIEU a copious & violent writer 1146
JUXON, 70. made Biſhop of *Canterbury*, 288. 9

K.

K.

KEELING, afterwards Ld. Chief Juſtice, prepares the Act of Uniformity, 301

KEELING's depoſitions, 936. 959. 960.

KEN, made Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, 1008. his character, *ibid.* attends the King in his laſt ſickneſs, 1012,* 13.* and the Duke of *Monmouth* at his execution, 1079

KENNEDY, Lady *Margaret*, a great Presbiterian, afterwards married to Dr. *Burnet*, 172

KER, a member of the Houſe of Commons, 415

KILLOCH, Colonel of the *Macdonalds*, 53

KILLY, a Prieſt, concerned in *Godfrey*'s murder, 783

KILMACLOTIUS, St. A Pilgrim's prayer to him, 125

KINCAIRDIN, Earl of, his character, 163. againſt ſetting up Epiſcopacy, 210. againſt *Sharp*'s violent proceedings, 347. 406 409. 504. 527. 668. turn'd out of the Council, 710. 773. 4 893

KING, Dr. attends King *Charles* the II. in his ſickneſs, 1009.* 1010.*

KING, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, his Hiſtory commended. 1356

KIRBY, a Chymiſt, 750

KIRK, his cruelties in the Weſt, 1074. 5. his anſwer to K. *James* about changing his religion, 1135. he joins with the Lords in inviting over the Prince of *Orange*, 1281

Kirk of *Scotland*, diſguſted K. *James*, I. 5. How compoſed of Miniſters & Elders, & of its government 47. the inſolence of its Miniſters, & their ſatyrical prayers 48. of their learning, & method of preaching 49. 50. their ſeverity, *ibid.* they declare againſt an agreement made with the King, & call it an *unlawfull engagement*, 63. divided into *publick Reſolutioners* & *Proteſters*. 84. &c.

KIRKTON, a Field-Conventicle Preacher, miſuſed by *Carſtairs*, 708. 9. 10

L.

LAMBERT, General, retreats before *Fairfax*, 132. 3. brought priſoner to the Tower, *ibid*, makes his eſcape, retaken by *Ingoldsby*, whom he entertains with a pleaſant reflexion on all his misfortunes, *ibid.* he is accuſed by *Oates*, 759

LANGHAM, Sir *James*, of the *Brookhouſe* committee, ſpoke latin fluently, 491

LANGHORNE a popiſh Counſelour 281. 750. 758. 760. his

his trial, 818. and death, 819

Langston, Col. comes over to the Pr. of *Orange*. 1328

Latitudinarian Divines, 306

Lavardin, Count, enters *Rome* with ſome Troops of Horſe in an hoſtile manner, 1271

Laud, Archbiſhop, 35. 46. his character, 74. 5

Lauderdale, Earl of, 32. 34. 42. 52. 55. 71. he comes to the King at the *Hague* 78. but is ſeparated from him in *Scotland*, 89 his character, 159. 160. perſuades the King to a general Indemnity towards the *Scots*, 166. and for evacuating the Citadels built by *Cromwell*, 169. adviſes the King to keep up Presbytery, 170. his letter to the Lady *Kennedy* for the cauſe, 172. made Secretary of State, 175. oppoſes the Earl of *Clarendon* in his notion for ſetting up a *Scottiſh* Council at *Whitehall*, 176. aggravates the paſſing of the Reſciſſory Act, 190. aſſures the King of the national prejudice againſt Epiſcopacy, 208. 209. 210. 230. argues againſt fines and puniſhments in an Act of Indemnity, 240. he is put in the incapacitating Liſt, 243. 4. he accuſes *Middletoun*, 329. 330. is more compliant to the Biſhops, 330. procures a Proclamation for ſuperſeding the execution of the Act of fining, 331. 334. he directs the Parliament, 335. 336. gives way to *Sharp*'s violent proceeding, 339. 347. 349. accuſed by *Sharp*, before the King, 349. he makes *Sharp* retract it, 350. 398. a great change in his temper, 404. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 431. 487. 504. 509. 511. 12. 13. his ſpeech at the opening a new Parliament in *Scotland*, 517. his method in getting the Act of Supremacy paſſed, *ibid.* a letter of his to the King upon that ſubject, 520, how this letter came into Duke *Hamilton*'s hands, *ibid.* 524. 5. 7. 9. 530. he ſcreens the *Papiſts* by putting in a word into the Act againſt Conventicles, 531 542. 3. 4. 551. marries Lady *Dyſert*, 555. made a Knight of the Garter, 557. and a Duke, *ibid.* his great inſolence in *Scotland*, 605. 6. 7. his fury and rage againſt the Presbyterians, 608. 9. 610. al on a ſudden he ſets about a further indulgence, *ibid.* gives the King violent counſel, 621. 624. his evil deſigns, 631. 2. a party formed againſt him, 644, 5. he puts off the ſeſſion of Parliament, and offers

offers redreſs in Council, 646. next ſeſſion new complaints made, 647 the *Engliſh* Parliament vote an addreſs to remove him from the King's Councils and preſence for ever, 649. matters made up between him and *Argile*, 656 he turns out twelve of the chief magiſtrates of *Edenburgh*, 658: made Earl of *Guilford*, and has a penſion of 3000. *l.* 659. 660. 1. 2. 3: and becomes head of the Church party, 663. 666. 7. 8. 702. 707 720. 729. 730. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. his adminiſtration in *Scotland* violent and illegal, 738. 739. 740. 1. 2. 3. 763. 765. 773. 4. the *Scots* Lords put in writing the heads of their charge againſt him, 825. the hearing on both ſides, 826. 828. 9. his artifice in drawing up the Indemnity after the *Bothwell-Bridge* Rebellion, 831. votes againſt Lord *Stafford* in his Trial, 860. 888. 891. 893. 4. 5. 901. 2. his death, 905

LAUDERDALE, Ducheſs, 607. 644. 646

Lawborrows, a kind of law in *Scotland*, 740

LEARMOTH and *Wallace* ſurprize *Turner*, 385

LEE votes in Parliament for a great ſupply, 625

LEE, Sir *Thomas*, his character. 690

LEE, a witneſs in the Rye plot, 959

LEEDS, Duke, of See *Danby* & *Oſborn*.

LE FEVRE, Dr. 1014.*

LEG. 936. See *Dartmouth*.

LEICESTER, Earl of, Ld. *Liſle*, of *Cromwel*'s Council, 118

LEICESTER, Earl of, 564. Governour of *Holland*, 569

LEIGHTOUN, Biſhop, his character, 214. 15. 16. to 225. his moderation in the point of epiſcopal ordination, 226. he endeavours to unite the Presbyterians and Biſhops, 227. and is againſt all pomp and vanity, 230. zealous for an explanation to be put on the oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, 235. goes to Court to give a true account of the proceedings in *Scotland*, 251. propoſes a comprehenſion of the presbyterian party to the King, 410. and alſo the manner how to do it, 501. 2. 3. 4. 512. gets ſome words alter'd in the Act of Supremacy, 518. made Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, 524. inſtructions for an accommodation, 525. advices to his Clergy, 526. conference between him and ſome Presbyterians, 527. 531. ſends into the weſtern Counties ſix epiſcopal Divines to argue upon the grounds of an accommo-

modation, 532. further conference with the Presbyterians, 536. 7. 8. 9. 607. 8. he resolves to retire and leave his See, 611 his death and further character, 6634. 1004. 5. 6

LEIGHTOUN, Sir *Elisha*, his character 218. 219. 220. Sent to *France*. 545. 621. 634. 640

LENOX, Duke of, 3. 25

LESLEY, General of the *Scotch* Army, 82. 83

L'ESTRANGE, Sir *Roger*, 812. See in E.

LEWIS XIV. *See* FRENCH KING.

LEYBOURN, Bishop, sent over from *Rome*, 1224. 5

LIEGE Jesuits of, discover the designs of *England*. 1184

LIEGE Bishop of, disputes about his election, 1269. &c. 1274

Lillibulero, a ballad, did great service, 1331

LINLITHGOW, Earl of, sent against the Rebels, 828

LISLE, Lord, 1078

LISLE, Lady, executed, 1078 her character, *ibid*

LITTLETON, Sir *Thomas*, 383

LITTLETON, Member of the House of Commons, 415. 487.

LITTLETON, his character, 690. 748. 770. 799. 866. 869

Liturgy prepared in *Scotland* by four aspiring Bishops 35

LLOYD, Dr. his character, 311. relates an extraordinary passage about the Fire of *London*, 381. 748. 757. 765. 786. 7. 855. 6. 1157. 1261. 1262. 1389

LOB advises the King to send the Bishops to the Tower, 1236

LOCKHART, Sir *George*, in the case of condemning Appeals; stands it out against the King's order, 657. he is assigned Council for *Mitchell*, 732. 3. and to argue against Duke *Lauderdale*, 825. 890

LOCKHART, Sir *James*, opposes the violent turning out the Presbyterians, 251

LOCKHART, *Cromwell's* Ambassador in *France*, 120 his character, *ibid.* discourse between him and *Monk*, 135. rejects the propositions of the Commonwealth party, 375. sent to *France* by King *Charles*, 552. his death, 691. some passages of his courage in *France*, 691. 2. 3

LONDON burnt 379. 380. 1. 2. 414. 753. Act for rebuilding it 429. Attempts to seize its Charter 919. 20. 1. 2 3. 973. Disputes about electing of Magistrates, 912. 13. 14. 15. 16

LONDONDERRY, ſtands out againſt *Tyrconnell*, 1355
De LORGE, Marechal Ambaſſador in *England*, 1035
LORN, Lord. aſſiduous & faithfull in ſerving the King, 87. 89. well received by King *Charles* II. at Court, 168 a ſad accident in one of his impriſonments, *ibid.* he ſolicits the King in behalf of his Father 106. a letter of his to Lord *Duffus* intercepted, 240. upon which he is condemn'd to die, 242. he ſends the news of the Incapacitating Act to Court three days before the Meſſenger, 245. made Earl of *Argile*, ſee Earl of *Argile*.
LORRAIN; Cardinal, 562
LOTHIAN, Earl of, 24. 76. 78
LOVE, a diſſenting Miniſter, his prudence, 619
Louveſtein faction in *Holland*, 362. 3. 643. 1147
LOUVOY, Monſieur *de*, adviſes the King of *France* to be hard upon the *Dutch*, 581 & to let looſe ſome Dragoons to live upon the Proteſtants on diſcretion, 1093. 1144. 1284
LOWDUN; Earl of, 37. 42. 64. 198.
LOWER; Dr. 880. 1014.*
LUCAS, Lord, ſeized the Tower, for the Pr. of *Orange*, 1340
LUDLOW, contradicts him ſelf 68. 9
LUMLEY, Lord, 791. 1069. 1279. 1283. 1329
LUNENBURGH, Duke of, 1267
LUTHER, blamed by K. *James*, 1203.
Lutheran, 14. 1249.
LUXEMBURGH, Duke of, marches his army on the ice from *Utrecht* to *Holland*, 601. his barbarities, 602. 718
De LUYNES, bribed by the Archdutcheſs, 14

M.

MACCAIL put to the torture, 392. dies in a rapture of joy, *ibid.*
MACCARTY, Col. 1003.* 1004.*
MACCLAUD, of *Aſſin* betrays *Montroſe*, 79. 202
MACCLESFIELD, Earl of, 1310
MACKDONALDS come over from *Ireland* to *Scotland*, to recover *Kentire*, 53. 57
MACKENZIE, Lord *Tarbat* See *Tarbat*.
MACKENZIE, the Kings Advocat, 731. 825. 6
MACOM, a *Scotch* Miniſter, 1126.
MACQUAIR, an obſtinat Miniſter, 186
MAESTRICHT, 652. of conſequence to the States, 1270

MAGDALEN *Colledge*, rejected the Kings order to choose a Popish President, 1162
MAGNA CHARTA of King *John*, the original in Bishop *Burnet*'s hands, 46. 1367
MAINTENON, Madame, blamed by K. *James* for the persecution in *France*, 1102. 1181
MANCHESTER, Earl, 134. made Lord Chamberlain, 154. his character, *ibid* is for moderation in the execution of the Uniformity Act, 314. dissuades the Queen from masquerading, 483
MANSEL. Col. papers found in his room, 834. 5
MANSFIELD Count, against F. *Petre*'s promotion 1171
MANTON, Dr. 558
MARTIN, a free thinker, 104. but vicious, 265
MARVEL, *Andrew*, baffled *Parker*, 429
MARY, Queen of *Eng.* 562
MARY Queen of *Scots*, 562. 563. 564. 636
MARY, Q. to K. *James* II. See *Queen*.
MARY, Q. to K. *William* see *Orange*.
Masquerades at Court, 483
Massacre Irish, origine of it, 60. 787
MASSEY made Dean of *Christ-Church*, 1157
MATTHIAS, forced to resign the Crown of *Bohemia* to *Ferdinand*, 13
MAURICE, Elector, 561
MAURICE, Prince of *Orange*. See *Orange*.
Du MAURIER's account of Q. *Mary*'s death, 564
MAXIMILIAN II. against persecution for matters of conscience, 12. 13
MAXWELL, Bishop of *Ross*, 35
MAXWELL, a violent *Scotch* preacher, 385
MAY, Privy purse 432. 826. was bred up with K. *Charles*, & knew to manage him, 1007*
MAYNARD, 106. 776. 1061 1350
MAZARIN, Cardinal, 112. 113. 119. 120. 135. 271. 2
Meal-tub plot, invented by *Dangerfield*, 834
MEAUX, Bishop of, 1089
MELFORT, Earl of, 783. 1057. 1085. 1315.
MELVIL, Lord, 1044
MERES, proposed by the Court for Speaker, 796
METHUEN, Lord, brother to K. *James* V. 23
MEW, Bishop, translated to the See of *Winchester*, 1007. his character, *ibid.*
MIDDLETOUN, a good Officer, 92
MIDDLETOUN, Earl of, 164. 165. 173, 4. declared King's Commissioner, and General of the forces to be raised, 174. 5. his scandalous way of living, 181. opens

the Parliament in *Scotland*, *ibid.* baniſhes *Macquair*, 186. and paſſes the Reſciſſory Act, 188. 9. 190. 91. endeavours to faſten the Kings death on *Argile*, 195. 6. 7. and eager in the proſecution of *Guthry*, 200. 1. gives account of what paſſed in Parliament to the King, 203. diſputes between him and the Earl of *Crawford*, 204. 5. 6. 7. he is for reſtoring Epiſcopacy, 208. 9. 230. 1. 2. and for fines in the Act of Indemnity, 237. endeavors to deſtroy Ld. *Lorn*, 241, 2, he paſſes the Act of Incapacitation, 243. 4. his ſervices magnified by the Parliament and Biſhops, 246. 7, he puts in execution the Act for reſtoring Rights of Patronage, 248. 9. 250. 51. 256. 7. comes up to *London*, but coldly received, 329. accuſed by *Lauderdale*, *ibid.* diſgraced and turned out, 330. 1. 2. 3. 5. *Sharp* attempts to bring him in again. 350. 51

MIDDLETOUN, Earl of, the ſon, made Secretary of State, 1010. his character, *ibid.* his advice to *Paterſon*, 1129. his conference with a Prieſt, 1134. 1347

MILLINGTON, Dr. 750. 1015*. 1256

MILTON, *John*, the Poet. 265. 6

MITCHELL's Trial for attempting to murder Biſhop *Sharp*, 730. 1. 2. 3. his condemnation &c. 734

MODENA, Ducheſs of, her vow for her daughter, 1253

MOMBAS a *Dutch* General, misbehaved, 582

MONK left by *Cromwell* in *Scotland* with an army to reduce, it, 88. account of the piety of ſome of his regiments, *ibid.* applications made to him to declare for the Parliament in *England*, 132. 3 4 diſguſts the *Londoners* by breaking open their Gates, 136. he promiſes reparation, and they invite him to dinner at *Guildhall*, where he declares for the ſecluded members, *ibid.* 137. he moves to ſend over for the King without delay, 140. at the Reſtotion made Duke of *Albemarle*, and Knight of the Garter, 155. he treacherouſly ſends down to *Scotland Argile's* Letters, 198. makes the firſt ſtep towards the Infanta of *Portugal's* marriage with the King, 270. and adviſes to let *Dunkirk* be ſold to *France* 282. magnifies *Middletoun's* party, 329. and made Admiral of the fleet againſt the *Dutch*, 377

MONMOUTH, Duke of, 430, 630. 771. 800. 826. ſent into *Scotland* to ſuppreſs the Rebellion at *Bothwell-Bridge*, 829. his gentle treatment of the priſoners

ſoners, 830. he is ſent beyond Sea, 833. comes over without leave, and is diſgraced. 837. how he and the Lady *Portſmouth* agree in carrying on the bill of Excluſion, 852. 3. he and *Ruſſel* meet at *Shepherd*'s 926. account of what paſſed there, and who they were that often met together with him, 927. 928. 929. they treat with ſome of the *Scottiſh* Nation, 930. 931. 2. 3. he makes his eſcape, 943. 947. 959. comes in, and is pardon'd, 981. but ſoon diſgraced, and goes over to *Holland*, 984. 988. he comes over to Lady *Portſmouth*'s, 1007*. and returns to *Holland*, *ibid.* the Prince upon King *James*'s coming to the Crown, diſmiſſes him, 1036. ſome in *England* move for him, 1037. 1040. 1044 he is forced into an ill-timed invaſion, 1045. 6. &c. the Duke lands at *Lime*, 1063. an Act of Attainder paſſes againſt him, 1064. a Rabble join him, *ibid.* his manifeſto, 1065. he is defeated and taken, 1069. executed, 1070. and dies with great calmneſs, 1072

MONTAGUE, Admiral, goes over with the whole fleet to King *Charles* II. 137. made Earl of *Sandwich*, and Knight of the Garter, 155. 361. 2. ſent to the North to lie for the *Dutch Eaſt-India* fleet, 366. 7. 8. 9. he is blown up at *Solbay*, 582

MONTAGUE, Ambaſſador, at *Paris*, 605. 694. 725. his intrigue with the Ducheſs of *Cleveland*, 744. 775. 778 799. 801. 844. 852. 967. 1088

MONTAUSIER, Duke of, his character, 968

MONTEREY, Spaniſh Governour of the Spaniſh Netherlands. 718

MONTESPAN, Madam, ſent to a Nunnery, 672

MONTGOMERY, Col. ſent after the King, 87

MONTROSE, Earl of, 42. 3 his undertaking, 52. 3. 4. routs the Convenanters army, *ibid.* his ſucceſs miſchievous to the King's affairs, 55. himſelf routed, and his papers taken, 55. his offers to the King, 78. he is betray'd and executed, 79. his noble behaviour, *ibid.* 80. 199

MONTROSE, Marquis of, 199

MOOR, Sir *John*, Ld. Mayor. nominates *North* Sheriff, 913. account of what followed upon it, 914. 15

MORDAUNT, Lord, 1104. 1277. 1310

MORE, a noted Divine, 813

MORGAN, defeats *Middletoun*'s Highlanders, 93

MORLAND, 102. 120
MORLEY, 138. Confessor to the Duchess of *York*, 278. made Bishop of *Worcester*, 289. translated to *Winchester*, 290. his character, *ibid.* a principal director in the Convocation of 1661. 301. 426. his account of the Duchess of *York's* Religion, 559. 663. his death and further character, 1007
MORRICE made Secretary of State, 156. his character, *ibid.*
DU MOULIN, 665. 671
MOUNTJOY, Lord, kept measures with *Tyrconnel*, 1355. was put in the *Bastile*, 1361
MULGRAVE, Earl of, his answer about transubstantiation, 1134
MUNSTER, the Bishop of, 365. 415. 583. 652
MURRAY, Earl of, murderd, 24. 33
MURRAY, Sir *Robert*, his character, 90 91. 210. 244. one of the Royal Society, 316. 17. 399. 406. 7. 8. 9. 426. 483. 512. 516. 521. 525. 531. 542. 645
MURRAY, Earl of, sent Commissioner into *Scotland*, 1127
MURRAY, *William*, 91. 404
MURRAY of *Philipshaugh*, deposeth against *Baillie*, 1001

N.

NAIRN, a *Scotch* Minister, his character, 354 519. 532. refuses a Bishoprick, 545
NANTES Edict of, 971. 2. 1088. 1093. 1106.
NAZIANZEN's opinion of Synods, 657
NEEDHAM, Dr. would have K. *Charles's* stomach opened, 1014*.
NELTHORP, 1079
NEVILL, 83. a free thinker, 104 131
NEWBURGH, Duke of, why turn'd papist, 17. 1088
NEWBURGH, Earl of, 240
NICHOLSON, Sir *Tho.* 86
NICOLAS, Secretary, his character, 156
NISBIT, Sir *John*, a good & learned man, 509
NISMES, a tumult there, 120
NITHESDALE, Earl of, 26
NORFOLK's, Duke of, witty answer to King *James* II. 1135
NORRIS, Lord, 848. 9
NORTH, Lord Chief Justice, 854. 879. made Lord *Guilford*, 910. 1017. his character, 1103
NORTH, Sheriff, 913. 14. &c.
NORTHUMBERLAND, Earl of 59. 60. 275. 1026

Nor-

NOTTINGHAM, Earl of, 741. 796. 811. Lord High Steward at Viſcount *Stafford*'s Trial, 857. 860. 866. 869. 1103. 4. meets at the Duke of *Shrewsbury*'s to conſult with the Lords, 1186 1280. ſent by the King to treat with the Prince of *Orange* at *Hungerford*, 1335. 1351. 1363 1365

Nuntio, ſent to K. *James* 1174. his reception, 1194. goes to the L. *Mayors* feaſt, 1197

O.

OATES, *Titus*, his character, 749. makes the firſt diſcovery of the *Popiſh* Plot to *Tonge*, 750. afterwards to the Council, 751. 2. what paſſed between *Oates* and *Burnet*, 754. he makes a new diſcovery at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, 758. 763. 771. 2. 780. 1. 2. 788. 9. 793. 817. 821. 2. 854. 857. 860. 887. 945. is impriſon'd, 1009. convicted of perjury, and cruelly whipt, 1057. 8

Oath of *Supremacy*, ſcruples & debates about it, 234 235. 6. 7

OBRIAN, ſent to attack Sir *John Coventry*, 495

ODESCALCHI, Pope, See *Innocent*, 1097. 1174. 5 &c.

St, OMER, beſieged by the *French*, 715. Surrenders 719 Jeſuits & Schollars of St. *Omer* 817. 18

OPDAM, commands the *Dutch* fleet, 360

ORANGE, cruelties of the *French* there, 1100. ſeized by the French King, 1101

ORANGE, *William* I. Prince of, recover'd the liberty of the Provinces, and form'd that Republick, 567. his character and errors, *ibid.*

ORANGE, *Maurice*, Prince of, embroils *Holland* by oppoſing the *Arminian* party, and erecting an illegal Court, 14. differences between him and *Barnevelt*, 569. 570 571. 2

ORANGE, *Frederick*, *Henry* Prince of, communicates a ſecret to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, which was betrayed, 73 his wiſe Government, 572

ORANGE, *William* II. Prince of, his great heat, 573. and death, *ibid.*

ORANGE, *William Henry*, Prince of, afterwards K. of *England*, his birth, 573. a prediction of his Father's fortunes, 574. made General, 577. his character of *de Wit*, 578. comes over into *England*,

499. made Stadtholder, 587 his remarkable answer to the Duke of *Buckingham*, 589 he studies to correct the errors he fell into at first, 592. animates the States to continue the war against *France*, 595. remarkable speech thereupon, *ibid.* he makes a stand against the *French*, 613. the States make him hereditary Stadtholder, 651. he having changed the whole face of their affairs, *ibid.* the Court of *England* jealous of the Prince, 666. he engages the whole *French* army at the battle of *Seneff*, 668. and offers battle to the King of *France* almost at his Camp, 716, 17 the Prince comes into *England*, 722. and marries the Princess *Mary*, 725, he endeavours to hinder the Peace with *France*, 745. beats *Luxemburgh* out of several Posts, 746 and projects an alliance against *France*, 840. he approves of the Bill of Exclusion, 845. presses the States to go into a new war with *France*, 974 comes over to *England*, and has much private discourse with the King at *Windsor*, 984. is in ill terms with the Town of *Amsterdam*, 1013 that difference made up, *ibid.* he sends away the Duke of *Monmouth*, 1036. and submits in every thing to King *James*, 1041. invites Dr. *Burnet* to the *Hague*, 1142. Caracter of the Prince & Princess, 1145. account of what passed between the Prince and him, 1146. 7. 8. 1150. 1. 2. the Prince and Princess's answer to the King's propositions sent by *Albeville*, 1182. the names of those Lords that met at the Duke of *Shrewsbury*'s, and drew up the Declaration on which they advised the Prince to engage, 1186. the Prince orders *Fagel* to answer *Stewards* letters, and to publish it as a declaration of his intentions to foreign Courts, 1221. 2. 3. it was received in *England* with an universal joy, 1226 the Prince uneasy at some of the *English* Officers in the States service, but is soon helped out of that difficulty, 1227. 8 his answer to Admiral *Russel*, 1247. 8 the Prince and Princess send to congratulate the Queen upon her having a son, 1262. the Prince designs an expedition to *England*, 1263. and sends *Bentink*, to the Court of *Brandenburgh*, to communicate his design to the new Elector, 1257. and treats with some Princes of the Empire, *ibid.* the affairs of *Colen* furnish the Prince with a good blind to cover all his preparations, 1269

1270. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. he gets the States to ſettle a fund, and order the Navy to be in a readineſs to put to Sea 1276. account of thoſe Lords and Gentlemen that went into the Prince's deſign, 1277. 8. 9. 1286. 1. 2. 3. the *French* King's deſigns in *Germany*, 1290. 1. 2. 3. 4, 5. made thoſe of the Prince practicable and ſafe, 1298. the *Dutch* fleet put to Sea under *Herbert*, 1299. the Prince's Declaration, 1300. a ſcheme of advices brought over from *England* by *Sidney*, 1303. 4. 5. the artifices of the Prince to cover the deſign, 1305. all the People in *Holland* went cordially into it, 1306. 7. except ſome few at the *Hague* who made factious motions, 1308. ſome amendments made in the Declaration, 1311 the army ſhipped, *ibid.* the Princeſs's ſenſe of things, 1312. the Prince takes his leave of the States, and goes on board, *ibid.* the fleet ſails out of the *Maes*, but forced back by a ſtorm, 1313. 14 the Princeſs's behaviour at the *Hague*, *ibid.* a new diſturbance while the fleet lay at *Helvoetſluys* 1320. at laſt they ſail out more happily, 1322. and land at *Torbay*, 1324. the Prince's behaviour at landing, 1325 he proceeds to *Exeter*, 1326. 7 his army kept under exact diſcipline, *ibid.* the King's army begins to come over, and ſeveral of the Lords join him, 1328. 9. and ſign an Aſſociation, 1331. the heads of *Colleges* in *Oxford* ſend and invite him to *Oxford*, 1333 he comes to *Sherburn*, and all *Dorſetſhire* in a body join him, *ibid.* he haſtens towards *London*, where great diſorders were occaſioned by a bold (unknown) perſon's publiſhing a Declaration in the Prince's name, *ibid.* his anſwer to the Lords ſent by the King to treat with him, 1336. the Privy Counſellors meet at *Guildhall*, and invite the Prince to come and take the Government into his hands, 1341. at *Abington* he hears the news of the King's deſertion, *ibid.* and at *Windſor*, that the King was return'd to *Whitehall*, 1344. conſultations held how to diſpoſe of the King's perſon, 1345 ſeveral Lords ſent to deſire the King to retire to ſome houſe out of town, 1346. 7. the Prince comes to St. *James's*, and is welcom'd by all ſorts of People, 1348. 9. conſultations about the ſettlement of the Nation, 1350. orders for a Convention, 1351. all *Scotland* except the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, declares for the Prince, 1353.

the *Scotch* Nobility in *London*, addreſs him, 1354. in *Ireland Tyrconnel* raiſes 30000 men, 1355. great numbers fly over to *England*, *ibid.* *Tyrconnel*'s artifice to deceive the Prince, 1357. the Prince ſends over *Hamilton* to treat with him, 1359. *Hamilton* deceives the Prince, 1360. in *England* the Convention meet, 1361. ſome are for calling back the King, others for a Prince-Regent; a third party for ſetting the King quite aſide, and the Prince on the Throne, 1361. 2. who they were that managed the debates in favour of a Regent, 1363. two different parties herein, 1365. others for another King, 1366. the original contract between the Kings and the People of *England* argued, *ibid.* arguments againſt a Regency, 1368. different views and ends between thoſe that were for continuing the government, and only changing the perſons, 1370. great diſputes about the original contract, and the word *ABDICATE*, 1372. ſome moved to examine the birth of the Prince of *Wales*, 1374. but it was rejected, and *WHY*, 1375 ſome moved for making the Prince King, and the two Princeſſes after him, 1376. other motions, 1377. parties formed, ſome for the Prince, and ſome for the Princeſs, *ibid.* Earl *Danby* ſends one over to know her mind, 1379. the Princeſs's ſharp anſwer, *ibid.* during all thoſe debates, the Prince's own behaviour was very myſterious, 1380. at laſt he explained himſelf, 1381. the debates thereupon brought to a ſpeedy concluſion, and it was reſolved to put the Prince & Princeſs both in the Throne 1382. the Princeſs's reſolution herein made known, 1383. in the progreſs of the debate, many proteſtations in the Houſe of Lords againſt the abdication and vacancy of the throne, and alſo againſt the final vote, by which the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* were deſired to accept of the Crown, and declared King and Queen, 1384. an inſtrument drawn up, enumerating the chief heads of King *James*'s ill government, 1386. the oaths were alter'd 1386. the notion ſtarted of a King *de facto*, but not *de jure*, 1387 another notion managed by Dr. *Lloyd* prevailed with many of the Clergy to come into the new Government, 1389. the Princeſs arrives in *England*, 1390. her behaviour, *ibid.* the *Interregnum* ends.

ends. 1391
ORANGE, Princeſs of, 725. her character 1182. Letters paſſed between the King and her about *Religion*, 1201. 2. 3. &c. 1262. 1311 1314. 1376. 7. 9. 1382. 3. 4 1390
ORLEANS, Ducheſs of, comes over to *England*, 546. her meſſage, *ibid.* and intrigues, 547. 8. 9
ORLEANS, Dutcheſs, of the Palatine family, 1291. 2. 3
ORLEANS, Duke of, 547 699. 715. 718
ORMOND, Duke of, 59. 60. his character, 149. 210 286. 322. 488. 9. 599. 753 1085. 1330
ORRERY, Earl of, 100. 107 8. 111 288. 488
OSBORN, 415. 487. 624 See *Danby*.
OSSORY, Lord, 599. 600 669, 671
Oſtraciſm at *Athens*, on what occaſion aboliſhed, 247
OVERBURY, Sir *Thomas*, 19
OVERTON, one of *Cromwel*'s Major Generals, 125
OWEN, Dr. 130. 307
OXFORD, Earl of, 1336
OXFORD, Univerſity, invite the Prince of *Orange* thither, 1333. and ſign the aſſociation, 1341
OXFORD, Parliaments, 370 865. 868. 870

P.

PAATS, of *Rotterdam* 592
PAINEVIN quits his poſt, 602. his ſentence, 603. condemnation & execution, *ibid.*
PALMER, Earl of *Caſtlemain*, ſent Embaſſador to *Rome*, 1170, his ill conduct, 1171 2. 3. 4
PARKER, a moſt virulent writer, baſled by *Andrew Marvel* 429. he is made Biſhop of *Oxford*, 1156. his character, *ibid.* and 1157. made Preſident of *Magdalen-College*, by force, 1164. 5. his death and further character, 1237
PARLIAMENT, *Engliſh*, ſet on foot the treaty of the Iſle of *Wight* with King *Charles*, I. 65. diſputes during the Uſurpation, between the Parliament and army, 131 the ſecluded Members come to the Houſe, 136. a new Parliament [or Convention] 139. call home the King without a treaty, 140. the Act of Indemnity maintain'd by the new Parliament, 269. the Parliament paſs the Uniformity Act, 302 and reſolve to maintain it, 324 and grant the King four ſubſidies, *ibid.* the Triennial Act repealed, 325. the Parliament give the King two millions and a half

to carry on the war against the *Dutch*, 360. upon the Plague breaking out they sit at *Oxford*, 370. and pass the severe bill against the Nonconformists, called the Five mile Act, 371 The Parliament set on to destroy Ld. *Clarendon* 419. & past an act of banishment against him, 424. also an Act for rebuilding *London*, 429. the House of Commons lose the respect of the Nation, by giving all the money that was asked, 420. but appoint a Committee to sit at *Brook-house*, *ibid.* many of the Parliament gained over by the Court, 492. House of Lords complain of the many money bills, 494 House of Commons pass an Act to banish those that cut Sir *John Coventry*'s nose, 495. an extraordinary Act against Conventicles, *ibid.* & 496. another session of Parliament, 617 House of Commons vote the King's declaration for liberty of conscience illegal, and bring in a bill for a new test, *ibid.* & 618. 19. debates in the House of Lords about the declaration, 620 the King cancels it, 625 and puts out an Act of Grace, *ibid.* a great supply is given, *ibid.* the Commons oppose the Duke of *York*'s marriage, 641 and are prorogued for a week, 642. advice offer'd to remove the Duke of *York* from Court, 648. the Commons resolve to fall on all the Ministry, 649 & to force the King to a Peace with the *Dutch*, 650. In a new session they examine *Burnet*, about *Lauderdale*, 672. 3. and attack the Earl of *Danby*, 678. debates in the House of Lords concerning a test, 680. 81. 2, and between both Houses about appeals and privileges, 683, upon which the session broke up, 684. In a new session, debates about anticipations, 685. the characters of some Parliament-men, 686 7. 8. 9. a long interval between the sessions of Parliament, 691. projects of the Papists to dissolve it, 697. a question raised upon the legality of a prorogation, 711 the Lords that moved it sent to the Tower, 712. the Commons vote a large sum for building thirty ships, 714. and press the King to engage in a war against *France*, 719. a new session, 726. supplies given toward a war with *France*, 728. the Commons address the King against *Lauderdale*, and to change the ministry, 743. they grow jealous of the Court, *ibid.* a Law pass'd for a Test to be taken by both Houses against Popery, with a proviso for the Duke and nine Ladies,

dies, 767. 8. and a Billl for raiſing all the Militia, 770. the Commons impeach the Earl of *Danby* of high treaſon, 776 but the Lords would not commit him, 777. the Parliament prorogued, *ibid.* and a diſſolution reſolved on, 780. a new Parliament ſummon'd, 795. the Houſe of Commons proſecute *Danby*, though pardon'd by the King, 798. 9 debates concerning the Excluſion, 801. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9 the Commons queſtion the validity of *Danby*'s pardon, 810. upon which aroſe a famous debate concerning the Biſhops right of voting in any part of a trial for treaſon, 811 the Parliament prorogued, and ſoon after diſſolved, *ibid.* arguments for and againſt the Biſhops voting, 813. 14. 15. a ſeſſion of Parliament, 842. the bill of Excluſion again taken up, 843. paſsd by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords, 844 5. the Commons inflamed with the loſs of their bill, vote an addreſs to the King to remove Lord *Halliſax* from his councils and preſence for ever, *ibid.* and proceed againſt ſome others with ſeverity, 847. and vote an aſſociation to revenge the King's death upon all Papiſts, if it ſhould happen he ſhould be killed, 850. in the Houſe of Lords ſome expedients offer'd for limitations in reference to the Duke, but were rejected, *ibid.* the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*'s conduct in relation to the Excluſion. 851. 2. 3. Lord *Stafford* tried upon the plot, 853. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. condemn'd, 860. and executed, 863. motions in favour of the Nonconformiſts miſcarry, 863. 4. the Parliament diſſolved, and a new one called to ſit at *Oxford*, 865 the King's ſpeech, 869. the bill of Excluſion reſolved on by the Commons, and an impeachment againſt *Fitzharris*, *ibid.* the Houſes diſagree and are diſſolved, 870. the Kings declaration againſt the 3 laſt Parliaments, & adreſſes upon it, 871. 2. the calling of a Parliament propoſed, but rejected, 973. A new one ſummon'd by King *James* II. 1038 ſtrange practices in the elections, *ibid.* which gave an ill proſpect, 1039. the Parliament meet, 1059. the King's ſpeech, *ibid.* they grant the revenue for life, and truſt to the King's promiſe for ſecurity of Religion, *ibid.* and project an Act, by which words were to be made treaſon, 1061. both Houſes paſs'd the Act of Attainder againſt *Monmouth* in one day, 1064. and the ſeſſion

sion ended, *ibid.* another session, 1101. the King's speech against the test, and for a standing army 1102. debates among the Lords about thanking the King for his speech, 1104. the Commons address the King for observing the Law, 1105. at which the King offended, prorogues the Parliament, 1106 7. and dissolves them, 1194

PARLIAMENT of *Scotland* sate in 1633. in which the Acts of 1606. and 1609. declaring the prerogative, were drawn into one, 27. it was greatly opposed, 28. and carried by a trick, against the majority *ibid.* a Parliament sate (when King *Charles* II. was in *Scotland*) in which a full indemnity passed, in the stile of an Act of approbation, 83. a Parliament open'd [1 *January*, 1661.] 181. Earl *Middleton*'s speech, *ibid.* account of the constitution of a *Scotch* Parliament 182. 3. 4. the Parliament grant an additional Revenue of 40000 *l. per Annum* to the King for life, 184. and assert the prerogative in a most extravagant manner, 186. they also pass an Act rescinding all Parliaments held since the year 1633. 187. the King displeased with it, 190. the *Presbyterians* in great disorder at that, and another Act for keeping the 29th of *May* as a Holy-day 191. 2. 3. 4. another session *April* 1662. 231. in which the Bishops are invited to come & take their places in Parliament, and Episcopacy is restored, *ibid.* the Oath of *Supremacy* imposed, 234. scruples about that oath, 234. 5 6. the solemn League and Covenant abjured by Oath, *ibid.* debates about an Act of indemnity, 237. their unheard-of severity against Lord *Lorn*, 240 and in passing an Act against all persons who should move the King for restoring the Children of those that were attainted by Parliament, 242. a Committee appointed for setting the Fines, 243. some incapacitated by ballot, *ibid.* rights of patronage restored, 248. by which many *Presbyterian* Ministers are turn'd out, 251 2. 3. a general character of those Ministers, 253. 4. 5. 6. and of the new incumbents that succeeded them, 258. another session, 334. *Waristoun* brought before the Parliament, and sentenced to die, *ibid.* an Act against Conventicles, 335. and another for the constitution of a National Synod, 336. imposition on all foreign Merchandise left wholly to the King, 337. an Act offering the King an Army of 22000 men

men to be ready upon ſummons to march into any part of his Dominions, *ibid.* the Parliament diſſolved, 338. a new Parliament, 517. paſs'd an Act for the King's ſupremacy, *ibid.* and another for the country Militia, 519. ſevere Acts againſt Conventicles, 530. another ſeſſion, 605. and another, 643. a party formed againſt *Lauderdale*, complain of the Adminiſtration, 645. and in the next ſeſſion new complaints were offer'd, 647 a diſpute about the Lords of the Articles, *ibid.* the Parliament prorogued, 655, a Convention of Eſtates gives money, and juſtifies the Adminiſtration, 742. afterwards, upon the great turn of affairs in *England*, the *Scottiſh* Lords are deſired to put the heads of their charge againſt *Lauderdale* in writing, 825. the Duke of *York* comes down to *Scotland*, 837. ſome in Parliament moved for excepting againſt the Duke's Commiſſion, but it is laid aſide, 890. an Act paſt confirming all the Laws made againſt *Popery*, 891. and one for the unalterableneſs of the ſucceſſion to the Crown, *ibid.* complaints made againſt the Lords of the regalities, 892 ſeveral accuſations of Perjury ſtifled by the Duke, 893. a new Teſt paſt, but loaded with high ſtrains of the prerogative, 823. 4. & with the confeſſion of Faith enacted in the year 1567. as the definition of the *Proteſtant* Religion, 894. 5. the Parliament diſſolved, 896 objections made to the Teſt after it was printed, 897. and many of the moſt pious of the Clergy turn'd out for not taking it, 898. a new Parliament held by King *James*, in which the Duke of *Queensberry* was his Commiſſioner, 1053. all that the King required was granted, 1055. and all the revenue that had been given to his brother, 1056. a ſort of inquiſition ſet up, for all perſons under the pain of Treaſon to anſwer to all ſuch queſtions as ſhould be put to them by the Privy Council, 1056. another ſevere Act in one particular caſe, *ibid.* the Earl of *Murray* ſent Commiſſioner to hold a Parliament, 1127. the King in his Letter recommended to take off all Penal Laws relating to religion, *ibid.* they refuſed to comply with the King's deſires, 1129. and were diſſolved, 1130

PARMA, Prince of, Governor of the Netherlands, 562

PARRY, made a Juſtice, 976

PAS-

PASSAW edict, pacified *Germany*, 561
PATERSON, Biſhop, 527. 532. 894. 897. 1129. 1130
PATRICK, Biſhop, his character, 311. 813. 1118. 1136
PEARSON, Biſhop, his death and character, 1154
PEMBERTON. Chief Juſtice, 874. 954. 972
PEMBROKE, Earl of, 1341
PEN, 361. 1078, 1081, 1152 account of a prediction, 1153. 4. 1221
Pentland-hill fight, 389
PEPYS', Secretary of the Admiralty, 691. 1023*
PERCY, Lord, 158
PERTH, Lord, 740. 41. 904. made Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, 996. his cruelty in torturing, 997. 8. 9. 1000. 1. 2. 3. 1053. 4. chang'd his Religion, 1083. ſet up a private chapel for Maſs, 1126 put in priſon, 1353
PETERBOROUH, Lord, 629. 641. 836. 1009. 1009*
PETERS, *Hugh*, Enthuſiaſt, dies poorly, 264
PETRE, Father, 1115. 1171 made a Privy Counſellor, 1224. 1229. 1238
PETRE made Lieutenant General, by the Pope, 758
PHILIP II. King, his cruelty & perfidy, 562
PHILIPSBURG, an entry into *France*, 1292
PICKERING in the popiſh plot, 762. 780
PIERCE, Mrs. Q. *Mary's* landreſs, 1319
PIERPOINT, 19. a republican, 65. 491
PILKINGTON, ſeverly fined, 924. 5
PIQUE, a Sorboniſt, his character, 970
Plague in *London*, 360
PLAYER, Chamberlain of *London*, 960
Plot, the Gunpowder, a proof of the truth of it, 10
Plot diſcover'd, 325
Plot, *popiſh*, 748. 9. &c. to 765 the Queen charg'd with it, 766. &c. to 774. 780. 1. 2. 3. to 793. reflections on the whole evidence, 793. 4
Plot, meal-tub, 834
Plot, *Proteſtant*, 878
Plot, Rye houſe, 937. &c.
PLUNKET, *Iriſh* Biſhop, his trial and execution, 875
PLYMOUTH garriſon declares for the Pr. of *Orange*, 1333
POLAND, King of, raiſes the Siege of *Vienna*, 1013. 14
POLLEXFEN, a perplexed Lawyer 810. argues for the City's Charter, 919, 920
Polyglot-bible printed in *England*, 315
POMPONE, 390. Ambaſſador of *France*, 554. 693
POOL Cardinal, ſtaid in *Flanders* till ſome laws were re-

repeal'd in *England*, 1194
POOL, *Matthew*, 558
POPE, *Innocent*, his character, 1174. diſputes between *Rome* and *France* about the Franchiſes, 1175
PORTER, Sir *Charles*, made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, 1086. 1132
PORTLAND, Earl of, 958
PORTSMOUTH, Ducheſs of, 604. 672. 695. 768. declares openly for the Bill of Excluſion, 842. 3. her conduct in this matter little underſtood, 851. 917. 955. 1010. a new ſcheme of government laid at her houſe, 1007*. ſome applications made to her by the grand *Prior* of *France* offend the King, 1008*. ſhe attends the King in his laſt ſickneſs, 1010* her account of the King's being poiſon'd, 1016*
POWEL, Judge, his opinion in the ſeven Biſhops Trial, 1243
POWIS, Lord, 758. 788
POWIS, Counteſs, 834
POWIS made Solicitor-General, 1110. advanced to be Attorney-General, 1241
POWLE; 689. 690. 748. 838
PRANCE diſcovers *Godfrey*'s murder, 783. 4. 5
Preaching, the way and manner of it, reformed by Dr. *Tillotſon* and others, 313
Presbyterians, Engliſh, much againſt King *Charles* I death, 69. gave the King thanks for the Toleration, 558. and had a penſion from the Court to be ſilent, *ibid.*
PRESBYTERY in *Scotland*, new modell'd, 47. the chief Miniſters of the Party, 48. their ſtudies and other methods, 49. & great ſeverity, 50. the general Aſſembly oppoſe the Parliament, 63. and the Miniſters make an inſurrection, called the *Whiggamore* inroad, 64. diviſions in the Kirk upon the queſtion of admitting of all Perſons to ſerve their Country, 84. the one party called *Reſolutioners*, the other party *Proteſtors*, *ibid.* diſputes among the Covenanters, 94. 5. 6. methods taken on both ſides, 97. a new and unuſual way of giving the Sacrament among them, *ibid.* *Presbyteries* forbidden by Proclamation, 228. See *Puritans*
Presbyterians, Scotch, troubled at the Act condemning the League and Covenant, 186 191. and at the Act for keeping the 29th of *May*, 193. ſummoned before the Parliament for reflecting on Epiſcopacy in their ſermons, 234. they r[illegible]ſe the Oath of Supremacy, 236 and are condemn'd to perpetual baniſhment, *ibid.* *Presbyterian*

Miniſters ſilenced for not taking inſtitution from the Biſhops, 250. 1. a general character of them, 253. and method of diſcipline, 255. a Treaty for an accommodation with them, 501. 2. 3 4. 5. 508. but they reject the offers made to them, 533. account of ſome conferences upon that ſubject, 534. 5. 6. 7. 8. ſtrange fury of ſome *Presbyterians* called *Cargillites* and *Camerenians*, 888. 9. inſolence of ſome *Presbyterians* towards the Epiſcopal Clergy, 1353, 4

PRESTON, Dr. head of the Puritans, 24

PRESTON, Lord, 546. 1060 made Secretary of State, 1315

PRIMI Abbot, his account of the negociation between *France* & *England*, ſuppreſſed, 546. 7

PRIMROSE, 26. 36. 174. 5. made clerk regiſter, 175. 181 drew up all the prerogative Acts in *Scotland*, 187. 188. and the reſciſſory Act, *ibid.* 195. 730. 1. 2. 3. 4

Princeſs Royal dies, 279

Princeſs Anne adviſed to go to the *Bath*, 1256. 1283. retires to *Northampton*, 1330. 1. 1379 1383

Proclamation, with a fine of 50 *l.* on every Landlord, on whoſe ground any Conventicle was held in *Scotland*, 508. See *Conventicle.*

Proteſtant Religion, its 1ſt Criſis, 561. 2d Criſis, 562. 3d Criſis, *ibid.* 4th Criſis, 566. 5th Criſis, 579 1088. 9

Puritans gain ground, and the Biſhops loſe it, 21. ſome of 'em venture to prophecy *ibid.* See *Presbyterians*

Q.

QUAKERS behaviour upon the proſecution of Conventicles, 496. 7

QUEEN-Mother, her character, 43. 4. 914

QUEEN of *Scots*, *Mary*, 562

QUEEN *Elizabeth*, See *Eliſabeth.*

QUEEN of *Poland*'s great power over her husband, 1013

QUEEN *Chriſtina*'s character of ſome Popes, 1177

QUEEN *Katherine*, See *Charles*, II.

QUEEN, *Mary*, of King *James* II. went to the *Bath*, 1253. and gave out ſhe was with child, *ibid.* myſterious management of that birth 1254. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. ſhe went to *France*, 1337. preſs'd the King to follow her, 1352

QUEEN *Mary*, Pr. of *Orange*, See *Orange.*

QUEENSBERRY, Earl of, 905. 993. 4. 6. 1051. made Duke of *Queensberry* & the King's Commiſſioner in *Scotland*,

land, 1053. 4. 5. his cruel ſcheme, *ibid.* complain'd of by the Earl of *Perth*, but juſtified by the King and Court, 1083. 4. diſgrac'd, and a deſign laid to ruin him, 1084. 5. 1126. 7. 9.

R.

RADNOR, Earl of, 1010. See *Roberts*.
RALEIGH, Sir *Walter*, Sacrificed to *Spain*, 1920
RANELAGH, Earl of, 488. his character, 705. Lady, 260
RATCLIFFE, 758
READINGS practices to diſcredit the witneſſes about the *Popiſh* plot, 791. 2
READING, a skirmiſh there between ſome of the Kings & ſome of the Princes troops, 1342
Records of *Scotland* caſt away at ſea, 175. 6
Recruits from *Ireland* refuſed in the Army, 1285
Regicides, executed, 263. 4. 5.
RENALDI of *Eſte*, Q. *Mary's* uncle, made a Cardinal, 1171
REYNOLDS made Biſhop of *Norwich*, 303
RETZ, Cardinal, 115. 319
Reſtoration of K. *Charles* II. 140. 1. 2. 3. 4. &c.
Revolution in *England*, brought about by the Pr. of *Orange*, 1215. &c.
RHEIMS, Archbiſhop of, his character, 968. 1004*.
RICH, Sheriff, 915
RICHELIEU, Cardinal, 72
RICHMOND, Duke of, 240. 245. 416. 551
ROBERTS, 135. made Lord Privy Seal, 154. his character, *ibid.* made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 4 9 but deſired to be diſcharged, 490. 811. [ſee *Radnor*.]
ROBERTS, one of King *Charles* II. miſtreſſes, 485 882
ROCHELLE, affair of, 71
ROCHESTER, *Wilmot*, Earl of, 322. 486. 7. 883. 1020*.
ROCHESTER, Earl of, See *Hide*: charged with bribery, 917. 918. quits the Treaſury, and is made Preſident of the Council, 1010. quits that, and made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 1024. made Lord Treaſurer, 1031. 2. 3, and one of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, 1123. 4. a conference between him and ſome Prieſts about religion, 1135. 6. loſes the white Staff, 1137. and manages the debate in favour of a Regent, 1363
RODOLPH, Emperor, 13
ROHAN, Duke of, 71
ROOS, Lord, obtains a bill of divorce, 432

ROSEWELL's Trial, 1018
Ross, 516. made Archbishop of *Glasgow*; 1006. his character, *ibid.* and compliance with King *James*, 1129
ROTHES, Earl of, opposes the prerogative Act of 1633. 28. 29. 33. 38 is entirely gain'd by the King, 42
ROTHES, Earl, after Duke, his character, 162. made President of the Council in *Scotland*, 175. sent up to give the King an account of the proceedings of Parliament, 191. dissolves the Synod held in *Fife*, 193. 195. declared to be the King's Commissioner, 334 the power of all *Scotland* put into his hands, 344. 5. but he is govern'd by *Sharp*, and abandons himself to pleasure, 345. his severe proceedings against the prisoners, 390. turn'd out of the Treasury, and made Lord Chancellor, 400. 1. 3. 4. 527. 730. 733. 4.
ROUCY, Marquis de, 115
ROUVIGNY, or *Ruvigny*, sent to *England* 650. 1. 2. 693. 717. 747. 968. 1021*. 1035. 1089. 1091. 2
ROWSE's execution, 959. 960
Royal Society, its first promoters, 316
Rump Parliament, & roasting of *Rumps*, 136
RUMBOLD, 935. 938. 986 1049
RUMSEY, 916. 933. 5. 6. 7 8. 940. 1. 2. 4. 947. 951. 959. 977. 986. 988. 1080
RUPERT, Prince, saves the fleet, 378. 627 649. 767. 791
RUSSEL, married one of *Cromwel*'s daughters, 131
RUSSEL, Lord, his character, 689. desires to be excused from attending in Council, 838. first moved for the bill of exclusion in the House of Commons, 844. 862. 884. met the Duke of *Monmouth* at *Shepherds*, 925 6. 7. 8. 9. 931. 3. put into prison, 941. his behaviour there, 945. examined by a committee of Council, *ibid.* 946. his trial, 950, condemnation, 955. preparation for death, 957. execution and speech, 960. 961 962. 3. 4. 977. 1278
RUSSEL, Admiral, Ld. *Russel*'s brother, met the Lords at the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s, 1186 went over to the *Hague* to know what might be expected from the Prince of *Orange*, 1247. his character, 1278. 9. 1283. 1310. 1324.
RUSSEL, Mr. went over to the Prince of *Orange* at *Exeter*, 1328
RUTHERFORD, a leading preacher in *Scotland*, 49
RUTLAND, Earl. See *Roos*. 432
RUYTER, *de*, Dutch Admiral

miral 137. 367. 400. he surprises the English fleet at *Solbay*, 581. 599
Rye-house plot 937. 8. 9. &c. to 964, 985. 6. 7. 1000 1052

S.

ST. *Amour*'s character, 970
St. *German*, a Jesuit, his foolish carriage, 999
St. *Johns*, for setting up a King, 106
SAINTSERF, or SENSERF, sometimes by corruption *Synserf*, or *Sydserf*, an old Bishop of that name, had been Bishop of *Galloway* 35 211: made Bishop of *Orkney*, & died soon after, 213
SALISBURY, Earl of, sent to the Tower, 712
SANCROFT, drew some offices of a very high strain, 301. made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 696. his character, *ibid.* attended King *Charles* II. in his last sickness, 1010. one of the Ecclesiastical commissioners, 1121. 1157 petitition'd the King against reading the declaration, 1234 met the Privy-Counsellors at *Guildhall*, and invited the Prince of *Orange* to take the government on him, 1341 but refused to welcome him, 1350. and to take his place in the Convention, 1362, 3
SANDERS, 919. made chief Justice, 922. his judgment in the City Charter, 923. 1009
SANDS, attack'd Sir *John Coventry*, 495
SANDWICH, Earl, 155. 284. See *Montague*.
SAVILLE, Lord, endeavours to get the Scots to invade *England*, 37. forges names of many Noblemen to forward this, 38. afterwards trusted by the King & made Earl of *Sussex*, 41
SAVILLE, Sir *George*. See *Hallifax*,
SAVOY, Duke, his persecution of the *Vaudois* stopt by *Cromwell*, 126. attempts the conquest of *Genoa*, 551. revokes the Edict in favour of the *Vaudois*, 1088
SAVOY-conference between the Bishops and Presbyterians, 293. 4 5. 6. 7
SAWYER, Attorney-General, 919. 923. 925. 1241
SAXONY, Duke of, refused the Crown of *Bohemia*, 13
SCARBOROUGH, Dr. 1255. 6
SCHOMBERG, Count, 73 his character, and free discourse with King *Charles* II. 280. 282. sent for out of *France* to command the *English* Army, 615. 16. weary of the Court,

and haſtens out of *England*, 627, 8. made a Marſhal of *France*, 716. his advice to the King of *France* when the Prince of *Orange* offer'd the King battle, 717. 968 1298. 1304. 1324

Scot, Dr. an eminent divine, 813

Scotland, ſtate of it during *Cromwell*'s uſurpation, 93. deſign of uniting it with *England*, 511

Scots came into *England*, 59. their artillery ſurpriz'd the *Engliſh*, *ibid.* offers made to them by King *Charles I.* 51. they interpoſe with *Cromwell* for him, 61. they treat with King *Charles* II. 77. & proclaim him King, 78

Scougal, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, a good man, 357

Scrogs, Lord chief Juſtice, his character, 788. 823 impeach'd for high treaſon, 847. turn'd out, 874

Seaton, Earl of *Dunfermling*, employ'd by King *James* the I. to aſſure the Papiſts he would connive at them, 5

Seimour, 415. his character, 678. refuſed to be confirm'd Speaker, 796. 7. impeach'd, 847. 866. his ſpeech upon irregular elections, 1060. join'd the Prince at *Exeter*, and was the firſt that moved for an Aſſociation, 1332. *Devonſhire* and *Exeter* then put under his government, *ibid.*

Selden, his *Mare Clauſum*, 553

Semple, a Scotch Miniſter, 385

Senef battel, 688

Serjeant, an honeſt prieſt, 319. his declarations before the Council, 820

Shaftsbury, Earl of, his character, 151. 487. 550. adviſes the King to ſhut up the Exchequer, 555. made Lord Chancellor, 557. his ſpeech in favour of the Court, 617 changes ſides, and oppoſes the King's declaration, 620. 1. 2. loſes the King's favour, 627. 640. 642. 3. diſtinguiſhes himſelf againſt condemning all reſiſtance upon any pretence whatſoever, 681. 2. 688. 697. 711. 12. ſent to the Tower, 713. upon ſubmiſſion diſcharged thence, 760. 764. 771. 800. 1. 2. made Preſident of the Council, and declares for the excluſion bill, 803. and againſt the Biſhops voting, 811. 824. 837. 843. 5. 862. 3. 875. ſent to the Tower, 880. acquitted by the grand Jury, 884. 887. 915. 926. 933. 947

Sharp ſent by the Reſolutioners to *London*, to manage their concerns. 99. makes his court to the King at the

the *Hague*, 144. his craft and prevarications in managing the Presbyterians, 145. 172. 186. 187. 191. 192. 209. at last laid aside the mask, and own'd he was to be Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, 212 filling up the vacant Sees committed to his care. *ibid.* afraid of being obscured by *Leighton*, 221. sticks at the point of episcopal ordination. 225. 6. procures a proclamation to forbid the meeting of the Presbyteries, 228. and glad at their being silenced, 251. his abject behaviour before *Lauderdale*, 330. he drives on very violently, 338. and aspires to be Chancellor, 342. 3. his illegal proceedings, 345. 6. accuses *Lauderdale* before the King, 349. but retracts it, 350. yet studies to bring *Middletoun* into busines again, *ibid.* prevaricates about the fines, 353. would have had Mr. *Burnet* excommunicated, 358. his severity towards the prisoners, 387, 8. 9. turn'd out from bing President of the Convention, 395. had neglected the D. of *Gordon*'s education entrusted to him, 396. 401. brought again to the Council-board, 402. 407. 9. an attempt to murder him, 506. he proposes to indulge some ministers that did not conform, 507. 8. 518. 527. 9. 545. 607. discovers the person that had attempted to murder him, 729. & got his life against most solemn promises of pardon, 731. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. afterwards set upon in his coach, and murdered, 827

SHARP, Dr. *John*, 813. informed against for preaching a sermon against Popery, 1120

SHELDON, 77. 211. 221. promoted to the See of *Canterbury*, 289. his character, *ibid.* one at the *Savoy*-conference, 294. and a director in the Convocation, 301. the blame of the strictness of the Act of Uniformity fell upon him, *ibid.* he press'd the execution of that Act, 314. 344. argued for the five mile Act, 371. 402. 417. 558. his death, 696

SHELTON, Envoy. See *Skelton*.

SHEPHERD, 926. 941. 951. 963. 988

SHEREDON, 849

Sheriffs of *London*, a new practice in chusing them produced ill consequences, 481. disputes concerning their election in the case of *North* and *Rich*, 912. 13. Sheriffs by order invite the Nuntio to the Lord Mayor's feast,

SHERLOCK, *William*, 813. 1118
SHORT Dr. poiſon'd for talking too freely of the death of King *Charles* II. 1014. 15.
SHREWSBURY, Earl of, a meeting of ſeveral Lords was held at his houſe, to concert matters in behalf of the Prince of *Orange*, 1186. his character, 1277. 8. went over with letters to the Prince, 1283. 1310. 1332. 1336. 1346. 1381
SIBBALD, Sir *Robert*, turn'd Papiſt, but afterwards openly recanted in a publick Church, 1228
SIDLEY, Sir *Charles*, 485. 7.
SIDLEY, Mrs. 1036. 1043. made Counteſs of *Dorcheſter*, 1132. 3
SIDNEY, *Algernon*, 104. he and ſome others of the common wealth party preſs *De Wit* to invade *England* and *Scotland*, 378. penn'd an anſwer to King *Charles* II. declaration, 872. his character, 927. met often with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and his friends, 928. 9. examin'd before the Council, and committed, 942. re-examin'd, 945. his trial, 976. 7. 8. 9. execution & laſt paper. 980. 1
SIDNEY, Mr. in favour with the Ducheſs of *York*, 375. in particular confidence with the Prince of *Orange* and his party, 1266. his character, 1279. 1280. 1303. 1310
SIDSERF, ſee *Saintſerf*.
SKELTON, ſent Envoy to *Holland*, 1035. 1063. and to *Paris*, 1178. put in the Tower, 1288
Smalcaldick league, defeated by *Charles* V. 561
SMITH, Sir *Jeremy*, ſeizes a great ſum of money belonging to *Spain*, on board a *Dutch* ſhip, 111
SMITH, a Prieſt, 790. 857. 878
SMITH, *Aaron*, 930. 948
SOISSONS, Madame, 547 549
SOLMES, Count, with the *Dutch* guards takes poſſeſſion of all the poſts at Court, 1346
SOMELSDYCKE's daughter, married to the Earl of *Kincardin*, 163
SOMERS makes a new draught of an anſwer to King *Charles* II. his declaration, 872. 885
SOMERSET, Earl of, 10. 20
SOMERSET, Duke of, 77. turn'd out for refuſing to introduce the Nuntio, 1194
SOPHIA, Electreſs of *Hannover*, receives a meſſage from Dr. *Burnet*, 1268
SOUTHAMPTON, Earl of, his account

account of *Eikon Baſilike*, 77. is angry at calling home the King without conditions, 141. his character, 150. expoſtulates with *Clarendon* againſt a ſtanding force, 262. would never viſit any of the King's miſtreſſes, 285. for moderation in matters of church government, 291. oppoſes the five mile Act, 371. moves for the addition of *legally* to the words *Commiſſion'd by the King*, 372. his death, 412

SOUTHESK, Earl of, his jealouſy of the Duke of *York* with his Wife, 376

SOUTHWELL, Sir *Robert*, 271

SPANHEIM, Baron, his character, 972

Spaniſh invaſion, 565. how that fleet was diverted from coming the firſt year, *ibid* & 566. 1214

Spaniſh Netherlands, the deſign of making them a Common wealth, was communicated to King *Charles* the I. under ſecrecy, 72. but the ſecret was not well kept, by him. 73

SPENCE, put to torture, 997

SPINOLA, Spaniſh General, preſſed the States, 567

SPOTSWOOD, Biſhop, his hiſtory of *Scotland* cenſured, 5. 30. 35. 38

SPRAGGE, 555. 6.

SPRAT, Biſhop, 317. 846, 7. 1122

STAFFORD, Lord, 783. 791. his trial, 853. condemnation, 860. he ſent for Dr. *Burnet*, 861. 2. his execution, 863. 887

STAIR, Lord, pretended his hand out of joint that he might not ſign ſome wild orders, 740. See *Dalrimple*.

STALEY's trial, 763, 4. 5

STARLING's Mayoralty remarkable for ſeverity, 496

STEARN, Archbiſhop of *York*, 298. his death and character, 1006

STERRY one of *Cromwell's* Preachers, 130

STEWARD, *Francis*, married to the Queen *Dowager*, 23

STEWARD made Earl of *Traquair*, 31. his character, *ibid*. 33. 4. 5.

STEWARD, Dr. the notion he gave the D. of *York* of the real preſence in the ſacrament, 276

STEWARD ſent by King *James* the I. with a threatning meſſage to Queen *Elizabeth*, 563. 4.

STEWARD, Sir *James*, a Presbyterian, 392

STEWARD, a *Scotch* Lawyer, his endeavours to ſerve King

James II. at the *Hague*, and in *Scotland*, 1221. 2. 3.

STILLINGFLEET, Dr. his character, 309, 310. 427. 558. 637. 701. 856. 1118. 1136. 1281

STOUPE, 100. 112. 13, 16. 17. 18. 19. relates a remarkable passage in his employment under *Cromwell*, 1212. 13.

STRAFFORD, Earl of, 40. account of his being given up by the King, 44. 45. his death rais'd his character, 74

STRATHALLAN, Lord. See *Drummond.*

STRICKLAND, commander of King *James* II. fleet, brought Priests aboard, which greatly disgusted the Seamen, 1264. recalled, 1284

SUNDERLAND sent Plenipotentiary to the treaty at *Cologn*, 629. his character, 630. sent Embassador to *France*, 745. made Secretary of State, 800. for limitations, and against the bill of Exclusion, 803. 839. enters into a particular confidence with the Prince of *Orange*, 840. declares openly for the bill of Exclusion, 842. and against a Prince regent, 866. after being disgraced, he is restored to be Secretary, 916. proposed a General in the *Irish* Army, to be independant of the Lord Lieutenant, 1024. 1007* 1031. 2. made Lord President of the Council, 1086. advises the King to more moderate proceedings, 1265. and turns Papist, *ibid*, opposes the offers of an Army, from the *French* King to assist King *James* II. 1286. and also the Earl of *Melfort*'s proposition for seizing on all suspected persons, 1315 and is turn'd out of all his places *ibid.*

SUNDERLAND, Countess of, 1258, 1318

SUSSEX, Earl, 41

SWINTON, made Lord by *Cromwell*, 169, 201

SYNDERCOMB, design'd to assassinate *Cromwell*, 122. 3

SYNOD, National, constituted in *Scotland*, 336

SYNOD at *Glasgow* complain of the indulgence, 516

SYNSERF. See *Saintserf.*

T.

TALBOT, Sir *Gilbert*, Envoy at the court of *Denmark*, his account of the affair of *Berghen*, 366, 7, 8, 9

TALBOT, *Richard*, 288 manages the Duke of *York*'s amours, 375, is against the Duke of *Ormond*, 488. 875. made Earl of *Tirconnel*, and commander of the *Irish* Army, 1086. [see Earl of *Tirconnel.*]

TALBOT, titular Archbishop of *Dublin* 875
TALMASH, Sir *Lionel*, 405
TARBAT, Lord, becomes *Middleton*'s chief favourite, 238, 9. sent up by him with two draughts of an Act of indemnity to the King, 240 proposes two expedients in the incapacitating Act, 243, 4. sent to Court with that Act, 245, 252
TASBOROUGH, 793
TAYLOR, Dr. copied by D. of *Lauderdale*, 518
TEKELI, Count, begs the Turk's protection, 965
TEMPLE, Sir *William*, 419 sent Embassadour to *Holland*, 670. his character, *ibid.* 721. Plenipotentiary at *Nimeguen*, 745, 1359. a proposition made by Sir *William* & his brother and son, to send *Hamilton* to treat with *Tirconnel*, 1359, 60, 61
TENNISON, Dr. his character, 312, 813, 1023 * 1070, 71, 1118
TERRAS, Earl of, 999.
TESSE's cruelties in *Orange*, 1100
TERWHIT, Sir *Philip*, a Roman Catholick 700
THROGMORTON and his Lady abjure the Protestant religion, in *Paris* 698. 9
THURLO, 102. 122. 3. 4
TIDDIMAN attacks *Berghen* in *Norway*, but beat off with great loss, 369
TILLOTSON, 124. 129. his character, 309. 380. 558. 809 961. 3. 1118
TIRCONNEL, Earl of, made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 1131. 2. 1345. 1355. 6. 7. 8. 9 &c.
TITUS, Colonel, 10. 66. 624
TONGE, Dr. his account of the Popish Plot, 748. 754 771. his death, 887
TORY, when that name came in use 870
TRAQUAIR, Earl of, 31. 33. 4. 5
Treaty, with K. *Charles* I. in the Isle of *Wight*, 65 of the *Scots* with K. *Charles* II. at the *Hague* 77. 80. & of *Cromwell* with *France*, 112. 13. 14 of the *Pyrenées* 271 betwixt the Duke of *Ormond* & the *Irish* Rebels, 286. at *Cologne*, 629. 630. betwixt England & Holland, 650. 51. 2 at *Nimeguen*, 745. 6
TREBY, 808. argues for the City Charter, 919. 920
TRELAWNY, General, 1281
TRELAWNY, Bishop of *Bristol*, 1281
TRENCHARD, 941. 2. 947
TREVILLE, Count, 549 his character, 969. 970
TRUMBALL, Sir *William*, Ambassador in *France* & *Turkey*,

lay, 1289
TRYAL, of Lord *Balmerinoch* 29 to 35. of Earl *Strafford*, 44. 5. of Archbishop *Laud* 46. of K. *Charles* I. 69. 70. of Marquis, of *Montrose* 79. of Marq. of *Argile* 195 6. 7 &c. of *Guthrey* 200. of *Warriston* & *Swinton* 202. 334. of Lord *Lorn* 240. 241, 2. of some *Regicides*, 263. *Peters* & *Harrison* 264. of *Henry Vane*, 266. 7. of Earl *Clarendon* 323 411. 419. 20. 1. 2. 3. of Earl *Middleton* 329. 30. 1. 2. 3. Executions in *Scotland* 391. 2 Trial of Lady *Roos* for adultery 432. of *Painevin* in *Holland* 602. of *Wicquefort* there 665. of *Bailie* of *Jerriswood* for opposing *Carstair's* violence on *Kirkton* 709. 10. of some Lords sent to the Tower for proposing a doubt in Parliament 710. 11. 12. 13. of *Mitchel* for a crime that was pardoned 730. 1, 2. 3. 4. of *Staley* 763 4, 5. of *Coleman* 768. 9. of Earl *Danby* 775. 6. 7. of 3 Jesuits & 2 other Papists, 780. of *Green*, *Hill* & *Berry*, for murdering *Godfrey*, 786. of 5 Jesuits 816. of *Langhorn* 818. 19. of *Wakeman* 821. 2. 3 Executions in *Scotland* 831 Impeachments of Several Lords & others, 847. 8. Tryal of Lord *Stafford* 853 860. 863 of *Fitzharris* 874. of *Plunket*, 875. of *Stephen Colledge* 879. of Earl *Shaftsbury* 880. 84. of *Hackston*, *Cargill* & others 889. of Lord *Halton* for perjury & subbornation 893. 4. of Earl *Argile* 899, 900, 1, 2. 1050. of *Home* 907. of *Weir* of *Blackwood* 908, 9. of the Charter of *London*, 919. &c. of *Pilkington* & *Ward* 924. of Lord *Russel* 950 &c. 960 &c. of *Walcot* & others, 959. of *Algernon Sidney*, 976 &c. of *Hambden*, 985. 1073 of *Halloway*, 986. of *Armstrong*, 987, 8, 9. &c. of Sir *Hugh Campbel* of *Cesnock*, 998. 1059. of *Spence* & *Carstares*, 997. of *Bailie* of *Jerriswood*, 999, 1000, 1, 2. of *Oates* for scandalous words, 1009. of *Williams* Speaker for licensing the votes, *ibid.* of *Rosewel* a preacher, 1018, 19. of *Haies* a Bankier, 1020, 21. a trial for blood for which the King sold a pardon for, 16000 l. 1022. *Argile's* execution, 1050, 51. Execution of *Rumbold*, 1052, & of *Ailoffe* 1053. *Oates* & *Dangerfield* convicted of perjury & punished, 1058. The Duke of *Monmouth* attainted, 1064 taken, 1069 & executed, 1070. Cruel executions in the west by *Kirk*, 1075. & worse by *Jeffreys*, *ibid.* Tryal & execution of Mrs. *Gaunt*, 1077. & of the Lady *Lisle*, 1078.

1078. Alderman *Cornish* seised tried & executed within the week, & afterwards found innocent, 1080. Lord *Delamer* tried & acquitted, 1108. Sir *Edward Hales*'s trial against the Test act. 1110. The Bishop of *London* tried by an Ecclesiastical commission, 1122. & suspended, 1124. The same Court turns out the Vice-Chancelor of *Oxford*, 1160, 61. & turns out the President & Fellows of *Magdalen* Colledge, 1162 &c. The Archbishop & six Bishops are sent to the Tower, 1239, tried 1240, 41, 2. & acquitted, 1243

TURBERVILLE's depositions against Lord *Stafford*, 854, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 860. discovers a plot at *Oxford*, 878. his death, 886

TURENNE, 597, 631. his character of the Duke of *York*, 1028

TURNER, the Jesuit, 816

TURNER, Sir *James*, executes the Laws in a military way, 348. surprised by the Rebels with his papers and instructions, 385. escapes, and has his papers restored, 407, 8. refuses to turn. *ibid.*

TURNER made Bishop of *Ely*, 1007. his character, *ibid.* 1041. preach'd King *James*'s coronation Sermon, 1042, 3, and attended *Monmouth* at his execution, 1070

TURNER, Sir *William*, one of the Committee at *Brookhouse*, 1490

TWEEDALE, Earl of, his character, 162. against putting *Guthry* to death, 201. he is committed to prison, 205, 6. 347, 399, 406. made Privy Counsellor in *England*, 407, 409. 10. 505, 510, 512, 526. 532, 543, 836, 892

V.

VALLIERE, Mademoiselle, her intrigue, 546, her devotion, 969

VANDYK, the painter, his children near related to the Crown, 23

VANE, Sir *Henry*, 65, 66. 95. his character, 266 and execution, 267

VARDES, Marquis de, his intrigue & disgrace, 547, 8. 9

VAUDOIS, protected & assisted by *Cromwell*, 120. the Duke of *Savoy* revokes the Edict granted in their favour, 1088. massacred, 1127

VAUGHAN, Chief Justice, 372. his son's character, 690

VENNER's fury, 261

VENDOME, grand Prior of *France*, ordered out of *England*,

gland, 2008
Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford* turn'd out by the eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, 1160
VIENNA beſiged, 965. the ſiege raiſed, 1014
VILLA *Hermoſa*, 718
VILLEROY, Duke, of, 1035
USHER, Archbiſhop, 234, 294

W.

WADE, one of Duke *Monmouths* counſelors, 1046
WAKE, did great ſervice againſt popery, 1118
WAKEMAN, 758, 9. his trial, 821, 2, 3
WALCOT, 935, 938. his trial and execution, 959
WALDECK, Prince, his character, 589
WALES, pretended Prince of, 1252, to 1261, 1262. 1296. 1317, to 1320, 1374 5, 6,
WALGRAVE, Phyſician, 1255, 1260
WALKER, a convert to popery, 1119
WALLACE, Lieut. Col. ſeiz'd *Turner*, 385
WALLER, *Edmund*, 688, 995
WALSH, an honeſt Prieſt, his character, 320, 21.
WALSINGHAM's paper of inſtructions to get *Wigmore* into King *James* I favour, 4. gets notice whither the *Spaniſh Armada* was deſign'd, 563
WARD, Biſhop, 316, 371. his dotage & death, 1155
WARD, Sir *Patience*, unjuſtly declared guilty of perjury, 924, 5
WARRISTOUN, his character, 38, 9, 82, 83. makes his eſcape beyond ſea, 169. attainted, 202. ſeiz'd and ſent to the Tower, 325, 6. his execution, 334
WARNER, Biſhop, the original *Magna Charta* of King *John* found among his papers, 46
WARWICK, Sir *Philip*, his character, 150, 1
WEIR of Blakwood his trial, 908, 9
WELSH, a leading Scotch Presbyterian, 385
WENTWORTH, Lady, followed D. *Monmouth*, 1046, 1070, 1319
WEST, an evidence 933, 5, 7, 8, 940, 946, 7, 959, 977, 986
WESTON, a Judge, 849
WEYMOUTH, Viſcount, ſent to the Pr. of *Orange*, 1341
WHARTON, Lord, 40. 710, 1328
WHATLEY, Juſtice, 608

WHICHCOT, Dr. 306
Whiggamore inroad, origine of *Whiggs*, 64
WHITBY, Dr. 1118
WHITEBREAD a Jeſuite, his trial, 780, 2. 790, 816, 17, 18
WHITFORD, Biſhop of *Dumblane*, 35
WHITFORD confeſſes his barbarities in *Piedmont*, and his abhorrence of Popery, and dies in deſpair, 1127
WHITLOCK, 55
WICQUEFORT's treachery, 664, 5
WIDRINGTON, Lord, 706
WIGMORE, Sir *Richard*, affronted by Queen *Elizabeth*, withdraws to *Scotland*, 4
WILDMAN, 104. his character, 939, 1037, 1308, 9, 10, 1320, 1376
WILKINS, 99, 124, his character, 307. promoted to the See of *Cheſter*, 418, 427, 432, 498
WILKINSON, 881
WILLIAMS, Sir *William*, an information of ſcandal brought againſt him, 1009 his character, *ibid.* made Solicitor General, and manages the trial againſt the ſeven Biſhops, 1241
WILLIAMS Biſhop, 74
WILLIAMS Dr, *John*, 813, 1118
WILLIAMSON, Sir *Joſeph*, Plenipotentiary at *Cologn*, 630. he diſcovers a correſpondence with *Holland*, 664
WILMOT, Earl of *Rocheſter*, his character, 486, 7
WILLIS, Sir *Richard*, won by *Cromwell*, gives ſecret intelligence to him, & to *Thurlo* & is treacherous to the King, 101, 102
WILLIS, Dr. 377
WINDEBANK, 1255, 1260
WINNINGTON, Solicitor general, 775, 798, 9, 844.
WINCAM, Sir *George*, ſent to. K. *Charles* in *Jerſey*, 77, 8
WINKINGTON skirmiſh, 1342
WISHART, made Biſhop of *Edenburgh*, 231
De WIT. *John*, his character, 362, 3, 4. *Amſterdam* weary of him, 365. goes aboard the fleet, where he ſhews great skill & recovers former affronts & loſſes, 365. he rejects the propoſals of *Alg. Sidney* &c. 373. he engages the Engliſh fleet & gets the ſuperiority, 378. rejects an offer of ſome to ſet *London* on fire, 379. his errors in government, 574, 5, 6, 7, 8, his tragical end, 585, 6.
de WIT, *Cornelius* put to the torture &c. 586
WITHERLY, Dr. 1256
WITHINS, 848, 979
WORCESTER, Marquis of, 847

847. See *Beaufort*.

WORTHINGTON, Dr. 306. his character, 308

WRIGHT made Chief Justice, 1243. and at the seven Bishop's trial, *ibid.*

WYAT's rising hurtfull to the protestant religion, 931

WYLD, Judge, 792

Y.

YORK, Duke of, his prejudices against the Protestants, 114, 116. he marries the Earl of *Clarendon*'s daughter, 273, 4. his character, 275: the account why he changed his Religion, 276. Admiral of the fleet against the *Dutch*, 360. his jealousy and amours, 375, 6, 7. 494, 550, 600, 601, 623, 4. lays down all his commissions, 626. makes addresses to the Lady *Bellasis* 628. marries the Duchess of *Modena* by proxy, 629. the Commons vote for stopping the marriage, 642, 672, 697, 8. great offers made him to come into the alliance against *France*, 722, 749. he is sent beyond sea, 795. a bill of Exclusion brought into the Parliament House against him, 801 &c. the King sends for him home, 832. his party spread many false stories, *ibid.* he is sent down to *Scotland*, 837. has leave to come into *England*, 839. his obliging behaviour in *Scotland*, 887, 8. he represents the King in Parliament, 890. stifles several accusations of perjury, 893, 4. and seems to triumph there, 905. he declares a new ministry, *ibid.* and is highly applauded by the *Scottish* Bishops, *ibid.* severe proceedings against Conventicles, 906. the Duke governs all affairs both *English* and *Scotch*, 995. the cruelty of the Duke and his ministers in torturing persons, 996. he attends the King in his sickness, and orders *Huddleston* to be brought in, 1010, 11, the King delivers up all to him with joy, 1013: See *James* II.

YORK, Duchess, [*Hide*] her character, 278. 375. and death, 559

YORK, Duchess [*Modena*] her character, 653. See *Queen*.

YPRES, taken by the French. 729

Z.

ZELL, Duke of, his daughter married to the Pr. of *Hannover*, 965

ZOUCH, the Emperors General, 669

ZULESTEYN, 500. 1262, 3, 1343

End of the Index.

ERRATA.

Beſide the faults marked in the *Errata* at the beginning of each volume, the moſt material I have found, in running through the work ſo often for this Index, are marked here below, that the Reader may correct them with his pen. I have found ſeveral literal ſlips that are ſo obvious to the meaneſt Reader that they can never alter or obſcure the ſenſe. Such literal faults, tho' one would gladly ſhun them in printing, yet are of ſo little conſequence, that no man of ſenſe will be uneaſy about' em; eſpecially if he has any experience of printing with careleſs workmen, & knows how hard, or next to impoſſible it is, to print without faults.

Page 10. l. 23. read *So-merſets* means
p. 31. l. 30. r. that he drew
p. 37. l. 19. r. the Earls of
p. 79. l. 18. r. *Macclaud* of *Aſſin*
p. 115. l. 15. r. is not known
p. 849. l. 9. r. And by this means
p. 900. l. 17. r. in the Caſtle.
p. 981. muſt be taken out, & another put in its place, which is laid in to every copy.

AN ALPHABETICAL INDEX

To the second Part, or to Vol. IV. V. *&* VI. *of Bishop* BURNET'S *History.*

NB. Vol. V. begins with page 497. & Vol. VI. with page 1025.

The particulars of the Author's Life are not comprehended in this Index; They are sufficiently indicated in the Table of Contents at the beginning of this Volume.

A

ABINGDON, Earl of, 608.
ADMIRALTY, their Conduct censured, 118, 217, 18, 19, 220, 1, 2. 238, 9. 373, 4. 699, 700,

700, 1, 2. 803. 4, 5. 970, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. See SEA AFFAIRS.
AGHREM, Battle of, 151.
AILESBURY, Earl of, ſent to King *James* 283. in a Plot of Invaſion, 330. 333. 349.
AILESBURY, Town of, the right of electing Members is tried at Common Law, 725, 6. diſputed in the *Queen's-Bench* if tryable, 726. judged not, & Writ of Error brought in the Houſe of Lords, 726, 7. they reverſe the Judgment, 729, 730. other Actions brought on the ſame Cauſe, 810. 813. the Commons impriſon the Plaintiffs, 811. Priſonners brought up by *Habeas Corpus* to *Queen's-Bench* and remanded, 811, 12. Writ of Error thereupon, 812. Commons addreſs the Queen not to grant it, 812. Lords Counter-Addreſs, 815.
AIRE, beſieged & taken by the Allies, 1105.
ALBANO choſen Pope *Clement* XI. 483. See POPE.
ALBANO his Nephew, 1059.
ALBEMARLE, Earl of, in favour with K. *William* 429, 430. 462. 584, 5. 591. 612. his loſs at *Denain*, 1209, 10.
ALCANTARA, taken by the Engliſh, 882, 3.
ALMANZA, Battle of, 943. 1009. 1011, 12, 13, 14.
ALMENARA, Battle of, 1101, 2.
ALMIRANTE of *Caſtile*, 685, 6, 7. 832.
ALTENA, burnt by the Swedes, 1220.
AMBRUN, Siege of, 191.
AMSTERDAM, their love for the Duke of *Marlborough*, 826.
ANGLESEY, Earl of, 853.
ANJOU, Duke of, offered to *Spain*, 235. declared King of *Spain* in 1700, 484, 5. 497. owned by the *States* 498. and by King *William*, 518, 19. See PHILIP King of *Spain*.
ANNANDALE, Earl of, in a Plot, 119. diſcovers

vers it to Queen *Mary*, 120. made Knight of the Thiſtle, 710. differs from the other Miniſters, 847, 8. is zealous for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, 847, 8. oppoſes the Union, 914. he carrys his Election againſt the Marquis of *Lothian*, 1030.

ANNE Princeſs of *Denmark*, See DENMARK, & QUEEN ANNE.

ANSPACH, Princeſs of, refuſed K. *Charles* of *Spain*, & married the El. Pr. of *Brunſwick*, 951.

ARCO, the Bavarian General, 759.

ARCH-DEACONS & their Viſitations, a uſeleſs burden on the Church, 1268.

ARGILE, Earl of, ſent to tender the Crown of *Scotland* in 1689, 44. in a Plot, but leaves it, 119. made a Duke, 561.

ARGILE, Duke of, his Son, created Knight of St. *Andrew*, 710. Commiſſioner of Parliament, 803. 847. his Inſtructions debated, 847, 8. 885. 1117. is ſent to command in *Spain*, 1138, 9.

ARMY, ſtanding, odious to *Engliſh* Ears, 162, 394, 5, 6. Reaſons for and againſt one, 394, 5. reduced to 7000 Men, and how modelled, 423.

ARRAGON, Kingdom of, declares for K. *Charles* III. 891, 2. reduced by the Duke of *Orleans*, 943. 1102, 3, 4.

ASGILL, 475.

ASHBY, 1785, 9.

ASHTON, ſeized with Lord *Preſton*, 132. executed, 134. his Paper to the Sheriff, *ibid.*

ASSASSINATION *Plot*, 315, 16, &c. See PLOT.

ASSOCIATION in favour of K. *William*, 323, 4, 5.

ATHLONE, taken, 150.

ATHLONE, Earl of, (ſee GINKLE) his Grant confirmed by the Parliament of *Ireland*, 422. re-

ſumed by the Parliament of *England*, 457. 580, 81. his Conduct in *Flanders* extolled, 627, 8, 9, 631.
ATHOL, Marquis of, 708, 710. made a Duke, 710. 737, 792. oppoſes the Union, 914.
ATTAINDER, of Sir *J. Fenwick*, Reaſons againſt it 352. Reaſons for it, 353, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. the Bill paſſed 363.
ATTERBURY, Dr. caracteriſed, 479. 542, 3. 1129. 1131. 1136. 1193. 1198. is made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, 1246.
AUGUSTUS, King of *Poland*, 375, 6, 7, 380. (See Elector of SAXONY.) his Conduct in *Poland*, 426. his Alliances againſt *Sweden*, 440. his Deſigns on *Poland*, 441, 2. The War there, 465. 492, 3, 4. 624. 638. he is depoſed, 697, 8. *Staniſlaus* choſen and crowned in his room, 784, 5. 843, 4. he is defeat by a Body of *Swedes*, ibid. reſigns the Throne, 938. the War continues, 1019. he reſumes the Crown on the King of *Sweden*'s defeat, 1060, 1, 3, 4.
AUMONT, Duke of, Ambaſſador from *France*, 1213.
AUSBURG, taken by the El. of *Bavaria*, 684.
AUSTRIA, *Charles* Archduke of, 445. a Treaty with *Portugal* in his favour. See CHARLES III. King of *Spain*.
AUVERQUERQUE, General, his eminent ſervice in *Flanders*, &c, 148. 585. 755.
AZUPH taken by the *Muſcovites*, 341. reſtored to the Turks, 1146, 7.

B

BADEN, *Lewis* Prince of, beats the *Turks*, 157. comes to *England*, 240. Paſſes the *Rhine*, 245.

245. beſieges *Landau*, 627. and takes it, 633. repulſes *Villars* at *Stolhaffen*, in 1702. 635, 6. 677, 8. 681. 758, 760. takes *Landau* a ſecond time, 765, 6, 7. 822, 3, 4, 5. Diſapoints the Duke of *Marlborough* after Meaſures concerted, 829, 30. his Death, 768. 937.
BADAJOS, beſieged 841.
BALTIMORE taken, 149.
BANK of *England*, when erected, 237. its good conſequences, 238, 337, 345, 6. enlarged in 1709, 1041. againſt a change of Miniſtry in 1710. 1096. 1100.
BANK, *Land*, 329 failed totally, 337, 345.
BANTRY BAY, Sea-fight there, 38.
BARA, a Spy, 981, 4, 5.
BARBESIEUX, Son to *Louvois*, 182.
BARCELONA attemped by the *French*, 246, relieved by the *Engliſh* Fleet, 246. taken by the *French*, 371. taken by King *Charles* in 1705, 836, 7, 8, 9. beſieged by the *French*, 881, 2. King *Charles* defends it in perſon, 887. the *Engliſh* Fleet raiſes the Siege, 888.
BAREITH, Marquis of, 188, 9. 937.
BATES, 279.
BAVARIA, Elector of, *Flanders* put in his hands, 161. his Son propoſed as Succeſſor to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, 428. he is gained by *France*, 559. 625. 634. ſeizes ULM, 634. diſtreſſes the Empire, 634. 677, 8, 681, 4. 694. his Troops routed at *Schellenberg*, 759. he is beaten at *Hochſted*, 762, 3. loſes all his Territories, 764, 5. his Conduct in *Flanders*, 822, 4. his ſhare at the Battle of *Ramellies*, 893. 898. commands on the *Rhine*, 998. his attempt on *Bruſſels*, 1009. 1011. is reſtored to his Dominions, 1220.
BEACHY in *Suſſex*, a Sea-fight near it, 100.

BEAUFORT, Duke of, 1212.
BENTINK, made Earl of *Portland*, 8. See PORTLAND.
BERKLEY, Lord, 1098.
BERKLEY, Sir *George*, has King *James*'s Commission to attack the Prince of *Orange* in his Winter Quarters, 316. 17. escapes, 322.
BERRY, Duke of, 998.
BERWICK, Duke of, concerned in the Assassination Plot, 316, 17. 739. 745. commands in *Spain* 775. 882, 3. 889. 942. on the Rhine, 998. in *Dauphiny*, 1054.
BETHUNE, taken by the Allies, 1105.
BEVERIDGE, Dr. 615. is made Bishop of *St. Asaph*, 808. against the *Union*, 920.
BEZONS, Mareschal, 1055. 1059.
BIERLY, 723.
BING, *Sr. George*, see BYNG.
BINKS, Dr. preferred the sufferings of *Charles* I. to those of our Saviour, 613.
BISHOPS, *English*, their Conduct at the *Revolution*, 10. 11, 12. 135. They engage in a correspondence with *St. Germains*, 132. their Sees are filled up, 143. the Character of the new Bishops, 145. 224, 5, 6. 241. divided as to the point of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Divorce, 241, 2, 3. Bishops guilty of Simony, 433, 4. 480, 1. 545, 6, 7, 8, 9. (See *Convocation*.) Oppose the bill against occasional conformity, 655, 657. 719. Some new Bishops, 808, 9. 966, 7. 1246. divided about the Union with *Scotland*, 920, 1, 2. & about *Sacheverel*, 1079. Advice to Bishops, 1267. about their Tables, 1268, their Wives, & Children, 1269. their Ordinations, 1270. their labours, & deportment, 1271, 2, 3, 4. how they should be chosen, 1312, 13,

BISHOPS, *Scotch*, their conduct at the Revolution, the cauſe of aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, 43. 48.
BLACKHALL, Dr. Biſhop of *Exeter*, 967.
BLAIR of *Virginia*, 228, 9.
BLAREIGNIES, Battle of 1057, 8. See MALPLAQUET.
BLEINHEIM, or *Hochſted*, Battle of, 762, 3.
BOLINGBROKE, Viſcount, ſent to *France*, 1211. 1232, 3.
BOLTON, Duke of, 64. attacks the M. of *Halifax* in Parliament, *ibid.* his death and character, 431.
BONNE, beſieged, 677. taken, 678.
BOSSUET, Biſhop of *Meaux*, writes ſharply againſt *Fenelon*, 412, 13.
BOUCHER, in a Plot, 739, 40. 742.
BOUFLERS, Mareſchal, 287. his Defence of *Namur*, 288, 292, 3. his Negotiation with Lord *Portland* concerning K. *James*, 383, 4. commands in *Flanders*, 627, 8, 9, 30. his Conduct in 1703. cenſured, 679, 680. his Defence of *Liſle*, 1003, 4. 1011. his Retreat after the Battle of *Mons*, 1057, 8.
BOYLE, Mr. Secretary of State, 983, 4. is diſmiſs'd, 1097.
BOYNE, the Battle of, 96.
BOWLES, Sir *John*, 524.
BRAIDALBIN, Earl of 168. his Conduct in the affair of *Glencoe*, 299, 300.
BRANDENBURGH, Elector of, takes *Keiſerwaert* and *Bonne*, 52. joins the *Dutch* in *Flanders*, 102, 378, 440, 465, is King of *Pruſſia*; ſee PRUSSIA.
BRETT, Dr. 1195.
BRIDGES, Mr. Paymaſter of the Army, 1125.
BRIHUEGA, the loſs there, 1103.
BRISACK, reſtored to the Emperor, 384. taken

easily by the French, 682.
BROMLEY, Mr. ſtands for Speaker, and loſes it, 850, 1, 2. 968. is choſen Speaker in 1710, 1106.
BRUCE, Sir *Alexander*, 622.
BRUNSWICK, 472. See HANOVER.
BRUSSELS, bombarded, by the French, 290. attack'd by the Elector of *Bavaria*, 1009, 11.
BUCKINGHAM, (*Sheffield*, Duke of, ſee NORMANBY) 608. is made Privy Seal to Queen *Anne*, 853. 974. and Lord Steward of the Houſehold, 1097. 1113.
BULL, Dr. made Biſhop of St. *David's* 808.
BURGUNDY, Duke of, marries the Duke of *Savoy's* Daughter, 338, 9. 486. heads the *French* Army in *Flanders*, 627, 8, 9, 30. takes *Briſack*, 682. commands in *Flanders* in 1708, 998, 1008. quarrels with the Duke of *Vendome*, 1008. 1052. is *Dauphin* by his Father's Death, 1127. See DAUPHIN.
BURNET, *Gilbert* (the Author) is made Biſhop of *Salisbury*, 14. oppoſes the impoſing the Oaths on the Clergy, 15, &c. for the Toleration, 18, 411. for leaving the Comprehenſion to the Convocation, 18. by King *William's* order moves the naming the Dutcheſs of *Hanover* in the Succeſſion, 28. enters into a Correſpondence with her, 29. is deceived by *Lindſay*, 33. endeavours to preſerve Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, 48. Lord *Melvil* excludes him from meddling in *Scotch* Affairs, 48. his ſhare in the Scheme for a Comprehenſion, 57, 8, 9, &c. King *William's* free diſcourſe to him about the civil Liſt, 65. *Montgomery's* Plot diſcovered to him, 70. his reply to King *William* when the civil Liſt was granted only for Years, 81. is for the Abjuration 83. diſſuades the

the Duke of *Shrewbury* from reſigning 85. King *William*'s diſcourſe to him before he went to *Ireland*, 87, 8. he is reflected upon by both Parties, 226. is for erecting the Bank of *England*, 238. his friendſhip with Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, 257, 8. attends Queen *Mary* in her laſt Sickneſs, 261, 2, 3, 4, 5. ſpeaks for the Bill of attainder againſt Sir *John Fenwick*, 353, to 370. does him private ſervices, 369. is made Preceptor to the Duke of *Glouceſter* againſt his will, 403, 4. his Character of the *Czar* of *Muſcovy* and Converſation with him, 423. a ſevere Judge of *Watſon*, Biſhop of St. *David*'s, 433, 5. he publiſhes an *Expoſition* of the thirty nine Articles, 436, 7. a motion to remove him from the Duke of *Glouceſter*, rejected in the Houſe of Commons by a great Majority, 454. he votes for the Bill to reſume the Iriſh Grants, 459. his Conduct in that Prince's Education, 470, 71. he had his ſhare in the debates about the Partition Treaty, 541, 2. the lower Houſe of Convocation cenſure his *Expoſition*, but refuſe to point out their Objections, 550. he attends King *William* in his laſt Sickneſs, 585, 6. his Character of that Prince, 587, 8, 9, &c. he oppoſes a Clauſe in the Bill for Prince *George* of *Denmark*, 660. his Zeal againſt the occaſional Bill, 657. 719. his Scheme for augmenting the poor Livings in *England* takes effect, 734, 5. he argues for the *Union*, 922. his Reflections on it, 927, 8, 9, he propoſes that Forfeitures in Treaſon ſhall not affect the Poſterity, 1037. argues againſt *Sacheverell*, 1079, 80, 1. ſpeaks freely to the Queen, 1085, 6. reaſons for continuing his Hiſtory beyond its firſt intended period, 1088, 9. his juſtification of the old Miniſtry, 1137, 8. he

8. he ſpeaks freely to the Queen againſt the Peace, 1154, 5. his ſentiments as to cenſuring *Whiſton*'s Tenets in Convocation, 1195. a Speech prepared by him in caſe the Miniſtry had moved for an Approbation of the Peace, 1234, 5, 6. &c. His Concluſion, or laſt Legacy to his Country, 1251, 2. &c. his Zeal for the Church, 1252. & againſt Separation, 1255. his tenderneſs to ſcrupulous Conſciences, 1256, 7. & zeal againſt Perſecution, 1258. his advices to the Clergy, 1260, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. 1278, 9. his advices to Biſhops, 1267, 8, 9. 1270, 1, 2, 3, 4. to Patrons, 1274, 5, 6. to the Comonalty, 1277, 8, 9. to the Gentry, 1280. to the Nobility, 1290, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. to the Parliament, 1296, 7, 8, &c. to our Princes, 1304, 5, 6. &c. his exhortation to true Religion, 1315. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. See his Life, for many other particulars.

BUYS, Plenipotentiary at *Gertruydenberg* 1003.

BYNG, Sir *George*, ſent after *Fourbin* to *Scotland*, 991, 2. prevents the *Pretender*'s landing there, chaſes the *French* Fleet, and takes their Vice-Admiral, 992, 5, 6.

C

CADIZ, our Fleet lies a winter there, 247. the Expedition thither, 641, 2.

CALEMBURGH, Admiral, ſaves the *Dutch* Fleet near *Beachy* by a Stratagem, 100.

CALLIERES, 343.

CAMARET, a deſign upon it, miſcarries, 248, 9.

CAMBRAY, Archbiſhop of, 412. 13, 432. 1190.

CANADA, an expedition thither unſucceſsful, 1144, 5.

CAPEL, Lord, ſent one of the Lords Juſtices to *Ireland*. 227. is made Lord Lieutenant, 304. his diſpute with *Porter* the Lord Chancellor there, 305.
CAPRARA, 160.
CARAFFA, the Emperor's General, complain'd of & recalled, 160.
CARLISLE, Earl of, 368, 612.
CARMARTHEN, Marquiſs of, (ſee DANBY) made Preſident of the Council, 6. ſets the Whigs upon attacking the Marquiſs of *Halifax*, 7. is himſelf attacked, 130. diſcovers a Negociation with King *James*, 132. is attacked for a Preſent ſaid to have been made him by the *Eaſt-India* Company, & impeached for it, 278. 9, 280. he is made Duke of *Leeds*, 296. See LEEDS.
CARMARTHEN, Marquis of, his Son, commands a Squadron, 296. 7.
CARTHAGENA, pillaged by the *French*, 373.
CASAL, ſurrendered to be demoliſhed, 294.
CASTILE, *Almirante* of, 685, 6, 7. 832.
CATALONIA, a riſing there, 834. declared for K. *Charles*, 840. 880.
CATINAT, Mareſchal, 213. 552, 3. 627.
CAYETTA, or GAETA, taken, 952, 3.
CENTURY, XVIII, how opened, 497 8. &c.
CEVENNES, the Inſurrection there, 639. 696, 7. is quieted at laſt, 780, 1.
CHAPELAINS, how they may be uſeful in great families, 1293, 4. & ſent with Ambaſſadors, 1309.
CHAMILLARD, 1008. he is diſmiſt, 1053.
CHARITY-SCHOOLS, their riſe here, 615, 16, 17.
CHARLEROY, taken by the French, 216.

CHARLES VI. (see CHARLES III. King of *Spain*) chosen Emperor, and crowned at *Frankfort*, 1141. opposes the Congress at *Utrecht*, 1154. sends Prince *Eugene* to *England*, 1168. resolves to carry on the War with *France*, 1210, 14, 18. will not come into the Treaty of *Utrecht*, 1225.

CHARLES II. King of *Spain*, 235. hearty against *France*, ibid. is attack'd in *Catalonia*, and relieved by the *English* Fleet, 246. his Sickness, 340, 394, 401, 427. a Treaty for the Partition of his Succession, 427, 443. his Death, and pretended Will, 481, the Duke of *Anjou* declared his Successor, 482.

CHARLES, III. King of *Spain* owned by *England*, 689, 690. comes over hither, 690, goes to *Lisbon*, 691. thence to *Catalonia*, 832, 3. is for besiegeing *Barcelona*, & takes it. 835. his Letters to Q. *Anne*, and Lord *Godolphin*, 840, 1. *Valentia* and *Catalonia* declare for him, 880. stays at *Barcelona* when besieged by the *French*, 882, 7. delays going to *Madrid*, 890, 1, 2, 3. *Arragon* declares for him 891. and *Carthagena*, 892, 3. takes *Alicant*, ibid. Earl *Rivers* sent with Forces to him, 900. by his bad conduct his Affairs take an unhappy turn, 942, 3, seven thousand Imperialists sent him from *Italy*, 950, 1. he marries the Princess of *Wolfembuttle*, 951, 2. complains of the Earl of *Peterborough*, 976. the Conduct in *Spain* censured, 976, 7, 8. Supplies sent from *Italy* to *Spain* by Sir *John Leak*, 999. the Campaign in 1709, 1055. the Battle of *Almenara*, 1101, 2. he goes to *Madrid*, 1102. the Battle of *Villa Viciosa*, 1103. he is neglected by his Allies, and his Affairs go amiss, 1102, 4. he succeeds to the *Austrian* Dominions, 1127. quiets the Trou-

Troubles in *Hungary*, ibid. leaves his Queen in *Spain*, and goes to *Italy*, 1140. thence into *Germany*, 1141. is chosen Emperor, 1141. See CHARLES VI. Emperor.

CHARLES II. of *England*, had twice the Liberties of the nation in his power, 1281, 2. 1307. his courteous & affable way of great use to him, 1304, 5.

CHARNOCK sent over to K. *James*, 283. engages in the Assassination-Plot, 316, 327. is executed, and does not acquit King *James* of it, 328, 9.

CHILD, Sir *Josiah*, his Death and Character, 431.

CHIMNEY-MONEY discharged in *England* at the Revolution, 23. 4. is establish'd in *Scotland* soon after, 122.

CHURCH, The, a Party Watch-Word 845. 859, 60. 863, 4, 5. 876, 7.

CHURCHES of *England* & *Scotland*, insured for ever at the Union, 915, 918, 920, 1, 2.

CHURCH of ENGLAND, see CLERGY, & CONVOCATION. The Author's zeal for it, 1252. several things might be mended with regard to its Doctrine, 1252, Worship, & discipline, 1253. some things formerly good, now unnecessary, 1256, 7. the only Church that allows Pluralities, & non Residence, 1276, 7.

CHURCHILL, Lord, 114. 1071. 1076. See MARLBOROUG, Earl of.

CHURCHILL, Lady, See MARLBOROUG, Countess of.

CIVIL LIST granted but for a Year, 23, 72. for five Years, 80. for Life, 398. 602. a Debt upon it paid by a Mortgage of part of the Revenue, 1243, 4.

CLARENDON, Earl of, opposes the Government,

ment, 54. corresponds with King *James*, 132. is pardoned, but confined to his House in the Country, 135.

CLERGY, *English*, an ill humour spreads amongst them at the Revolution, 20, 21. they take the Oaths with too many Reservations, 53. instrumental to corrupt the People, 193. act contrary to their Oaths, 194, 5. oppose Archbishop *Tillotson*, 224, 225. Divisions among them, 411, 478, 9. 543, 4, 5. 549, 551. 672, 3, 4, 5, 6. irreconcileable to Dissenters, 411, 12. 474, 5, 6, divided into factions, called *High Church* & *low Church*, 676. raise a Cry of the Church in danger, 720. 733. 752, 3, 4. 820, 21. 845. 859, 60. 863, 4, 5. their ill humour encreases, 933, 4, 5, 1040, 4, 5, 6. they espouse *Sacheverel*, 1071. 1077. 1099. many incline to Popery, 1195, 6. 1264, 5. Advice to the Clergy, of their Vocation 1260. Zeal 1261. Function, 1262. how to dispute with unbelievers, 1262 with Roman Catholicks, 1263, 4. how to manage their power, 1264, 5. & gain the esteem of the people 1266. how they should instruct the people, 1278, 9.

CLERGY, *Scotch*, are in the Interest of King *James*, 43. 54. which occasions the abolishing Episcopacy in *Scotland*, 54, 5. Acts made in their favour, 233, 301. 1177.

COEHORN, a great Engineer, 293. 627. 679.

COIN, its ill state, 267, 8. Consultations to prevent clipping, 281. 2. Lord *Somers*'s Expedient, 282. the Coin rectified, 307. cost the Nation two Millions, 336.

COLOGNE, Elector of, 245. 559. 625, 6. 1220.

COLONITZ, Cardinal, 682.

COLT, Sir *William*, 182.

COMPREHENSION attempted at the Restoration without success, attempted in vain at the Re-

Revolution, 57, 8, 9. 60. 1, 2. happy it did not ſucceed, 63, 64.
COMPTON, Dr. Biſhop of *London*, gives in a liſt of Tories for the Lieutenancy of *London*, 76, 551. his Death, 1246.
CONDUCT *of the Allies*, a noted Pamphlet, 1151.
CONFISCATIONS, how practiſed in ſeveral Countries, & how regulated by a new Act, 1037, 8, 9.
CONFORMITY, ſee *occaſional*.
CONSPIRATORS, rendezvous on *Turnham-Green*, 319. ſome eſcape, the reſt are ſeized, 320.
CONTI, Prince of, a Candidate for the Crown of *Poland*, 375, 6. his deſcent there, 379. pretends to *Neufchatel*, 955, 6.
CONVENTION of Eſtates turned into a Parliament, 10.
CONVOCATION reject the Scheme for a Comprehenſion, 62. prorogued for ten Years 63. 410, 478. meet in 1700. 542, 3, 4. their Proceedings, *ibid.* Diſputes between the two Houſes, 546, 7. the Lower Houſe cenſure Books, 547, 8. diſſolved by King *William*'s Death, 614. the two Houſes renew their Diſputes, 672, 3. the Miniſtry interpoſe in vain, 673. the Lower Houſe vote Epiſcopacy of Divine Right, 674, 5. meet in 1704, 754. and in 1705, 820, 21. further Diſputes between the two Houſes, 876, 7. the Queen's Letter to them, 878, 9. are prorogued, 879. are mutinous, & againſt the Union, 933. inſiſt that they can't be prorogued, ſitting the Parliament, 934, 5, 6. the Prolocutor's contumacy and ſubmiſſion, *ibid.* are prorogued, 1044. meet in 1710, 1129. their Licence excepted againſt, 1129, 30. a new Licence, *ibid.* the Repreſentation of the Lower Houſe, 1131. another of the Upper Houſe 1131, 2. the opinion of the

the Judges as to their Juriſdiction, 1133, 4. the Upper Houſe cenſure *Whiſton's* Doctrine, 1135. the Lower Houſe concur, *ibid.* carried to the Queen, *ibid.* their Proceedings in 1712, 1193, 4. their cenſure on *Whiſton* not confirmed by the Queen, 1135. 1194. the Biſhops condemn the rebaptizing Diſſenters, 1197, 8. the Lower Houſe do not concur in this, *ibid.*

COOK tried for being in the Plot of Invaſion in 1696, 334, 5. condemned and baniſhed, 335.

COPENHAGEN beſieged, 467, 8. a Plague there, 1147.

CORPORATION ACT, occaſions great ſtruggles of Partys, & great anxiety to the King. 73, 4, 5.

CORRUPTION, how univerſal, 193, 473, 4.

COTTON, Sir *John*, of his Library & Houſe, 875.

COWPER, Mr. made Lord Keeper, 846, 7. refuſes the uſual New-year's Gifts, 872, 3. is made a Peer and Lord Chancellor, 936. reſigns the Seals, 1098. 1110.

CRANBORN executed for the Aſſaſſination Plot, 333.

CRAWFORD, Earl of, at the head of the *Presbyterians*, 55.

CREDIT, Publick, very great, 870. ſinks upon the change of the Miniſtry 1100.

CREMONA, ſurpriſed by Prince *Eugene*, 554, 5.

CROMARTY, Earl of, 790. 1086. See TARBAT.

CUMBERLAND, Dr. made Biſhop of *Peterborough*, 145.

CUTTS, Lord, 322. 630.

CZAR. See MUSCOVY.

D

DALRIMPLE, President of the Session in *Scotland*. 45. much trusted by King *William*, made Lord *Stair*, 49.
DALRIMPLE, Sir *John*, his Son, a Commissioner to tender the Crown to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, 44. made conjunct Secretary of State with Lord *Melvil*, 142. is dismiss'd, 172, 300, 301. 908. See STAIR.
DANBY, Earl of, see CARMARTHEN
DANISH Troops in *Ireland*, cruel Friends, 126.
DANTZICK, a Plague there, 1061.
DARBY, Earl of, 1097, 8.
DARIEN, the *Scots* settle there, 414. pursue it at a vast Expence, 415. opposed by *Spain* & *France*, 414, 15, 16. & by *England*, 416, 449. driven away by the *Spaniards*, 447, 8. voted in Parliament a national affair, 450. great disorders on it, *ibid.* it is a great inducement to the Union, 927, 8.
DARTMOUTH, Lord, made Secretary of State, 1096.
D'AVAUX, 343. 520.
DAUPHIN of *France*, commands in *Flanders* in 1694. 212. signed the Partition Treaty, 446. yet is positive for accepting the King of *Spain*'s Will, 484. & for owning the Pretender King of *England*, 567. his Death, 1127.
DAUPHIN, his Son, 1188. his Death and Character, 1189. See BURGUNDY.
DAUPHINY, Campaigns there, 191, 213. 1055.
DAWS, Sir *William*, made Bishop of *Chester*, 967.
DELA MERE, Lord, made Earl of *Warrington*, 7. See WARRINGTON.

DE LA VAL, in the Admiralty, 179, 197.
DENAIN, an Action there, 1209.
DENMARK, King of, his Death, 440.
DENMARK, King of, his Son, his Alliance againſt *Sweden*, 440. makes Peace by King *William*'s Mediation 467, 8, 9. his Troops join the Confederates at *Ramellies*, 893, 4. goes to *Italy*, 1064. attacks the *Swedes*, and is defeated in *Schonen*, 1064, 5. beſieges *Stralſund* and *Wiſmar* without Succeſs, 1147. the *Danes* are beat by *Steinbock*, 1214.
DENMARK, *George* Prince of, married to the Princeſs *Anne*, votes for a Bill againſt himſelf, 656. a Settlement on him of 100000. *l.* a year if he ſurvive the Queen, 658, 9. he is made Lord High Admiral with a Council, and Generaliſſimo of all the Forces 606, 7. 690. he ſends a Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, 699, 700. 718. jealous of having too little Power, 966. anſwers the Complaints of the Admiralty 972. his Death and Character, 1020, 1.
DENMARK, *Anne*, Princeſs of, her Revenue ſettled by Parliament, 173, 4. creates a Miſunderſtanding with King and Queen, *ibid.* made up at the Death of Queen *Mary*, 284. ſhe is neglected by K. *William*, 285. her Son's Education, 403, 4. her Behaviour at his Death, 472. ſhe ſucceeds to the Crown, 599. See QUEEN ANNE.
DERBY, Earl of, ſee DARBY.
D'ESTREES, Mareſchal, 177.
DEVONSHIRE, Earl of, Lord Steward of the Houſehold, 8. made a Duke, 335, 612. 748. 755. 967, 8. is turned out, 1097. moves for a Bill of Precedence for the Duke of CAMBRIDGE, 1164. 1170.
DILKS joins *Lake*, 821.
DISSENTERS, Diviſions among them, 475. 718, 19.

19. they join with the Whigs, 846. 1297, 8. are excluded from all Posts & Offices, 1159. how they might be brought in to the Church, 1253, 1256, 7. they are often in the wrong for separating, 0247, 8. acquiesce in the Toleration, 1298.
DIVORCE, the Bishops divided about it, 242, 3.
DIXMUYDE & DIRMUDE, basely delivered up to the French, 289.
DODD, one of *Sacheverel's* Council, 173.
DODWELL, broaches strange Notions, 1196, 7. 1265.
DONAWERT, abandoned by the *Bavarians*, 758, 9.
DORSET, Earl of, made Lord Chamberlain, 8. gives *Prior* an Education, 1149.
DUBLIN declares for King *William*, 98.
DOWAY, taken by the Allies, 1087, 8.
DU MONT, engaged to assassinate King *William*, 181, 2.
DUNCOMB, 227.
DUNDEE, Earl, or rather Viscount of, goes to *Scotland* to raise Rebellion, 41. raises the Highlands, 49. 50. routs the King's Forces, 51. is killed in the Action, *ibid.*
DUNKIRK, delivered to the *English* to be demolished, 1207, 8. 1218, 1224.
DUTCH, the, love King *William*, & loved by him, 162, 3. 421. 590. their good conduct in their Quarters, 126. 163. they own the Duke of *Anjou* King of *Spain*, 498. demand assistance from *England* and obtain it, 508, 9. allarmed by the French Forces, 521. their behaviour on K. *William's* Death, 602. love the Duke of *Marlborough*, 602. 826. prohibit Trade with *France*, 651. 679, 80. 1053, 4. Divisions amongst them, 629. 30. 680, 81. 1093. consent to the Congress at *Utrecht*, 1153. their first Barrier Trea-

ty, 1180, 81. condemned by Parliament, 1183. 4. reflected on in the Commons Addreſs, 1184. their Memorial thereupon, *ibid.* was printed, 1185. the Queen diſowns all her Alliances with them, 1202, 3. their Plan of Peace, 1211. 1215. they ſign the Treaty at *Utrecht*, 1223. their ſecond Barrier Treaty, 1215, 1219, 1225.

E

EARL, General, 1005.
EARTHQUAKE, in *England*, in 1692, 192.
EAST-INDIA *Company*, their ſecret Preſents, 276, 7, 8. a new Company erected, 399, 400, 421. The two Compagnies join, 572.
ECCLESIASTICAL *Juriſdiction*, wants much to be reformed, 1253, 4.
ECKEREN, Battle of, 679.
EDUCATION, errors in it, 1286, 7. 1290.
ELECTIONS of Parliament men, a Bill to regulate them, 309. great abuſes in them, 255. 724, 5. & in judging of them, 725, 6, 7, 8, 9. of the danger of this, & of remedies, 1296, 7, 8. See PARLIAMENT, & AILESBURY.
ELLIOT, taken with Lord *Preſton*, 132. 3.
ELY, Biſhop of, his Letters to *St. Germains*, 132.
EPISCOPACY, aboliſh'd *in Scotland*, 121. voted by the lower Houſe of Convocation to be of Divine Right, 674, 5. an Act ſecuring it for ever at the Union, 918. is tolerated in *Scotland*, 1177.
EQUIVALENT, to *Scotland*, 910. how beſtowed, 923, 4.
ESTERHASI, 682.
EUGENE, Prince of *Savoy*, his Riſe, 389. beats the *Turks* near *Belgrade*, 389, 390. commands in

in *Italy*, 510. his Conduct ſucceſful, 552, 3, 4. his Attempt on *Cremona*, 554, 5. 635, 6, 7. ill ſupported from *Vienna*, 557. beats the *French* at *Luzara*, 636, 7. 679. Preſident of the Council of War at *Vienna*, 683. joins the Duke of *Marlborough* in *Bavaria*, 761. his ſhare in the battle of *Blenheim*, 760, 1, 3. 768. beats the Duke of *Vendome* in *Italy*, 830, 1. 883, 4. his March to relieve *Turin*, 902, 3. beats the *French* and raiſes the Siege, 904, 5. his ſhare in the enterpriſe on *Toulon*, 944, 5, 6. & in the Victory at *Oudenarde*, 1002. takes *Liſle*, 1003, 1011, 12. 1026. his ſhare in the Battle of *Mons*, 1057, 8. ſecures the Peace of the Empire in 1711. 1141. comes to *England*, 1168. 1192. his Character, 1168. 1174. commands in *Flanders*, 1192. 1200. takes *Queſnoy*, 1206, 7. beſieges *Landrecy*, but forced to raiſe the Siege by a Loſs at *Denain*, 1209, 10.

EYRE, Sollicitor-General, his Opinion as to proſecuting Dr. *Sacheverell*, 1068. is a Manager at the Trial, 1072.

F

FAGEL, Penſioner, his Friendſhip with *Dalrimple*, 45.

FAGEL, General, 832.

FAIRBORN's offer rejected by *Rook*, 641.

FENELON Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, 412, 13, 432.

FENWICK, Sir *John*, his Account of an Aſſaſſination deſigned in 1695, 283, 4. is in a Plot of Invaſion, 330. taken, 335. his pretended diſcoveries, 335. 348, 9. 350. prevails on *Goodman* to go beyond ſea, *ibid.* is attainted by Bill, 352, to 364. practices as to his diſcoveries, 364, to 369.

369. his Execution, 369.
FERGUSON, in a Plot against King *William*, 69. and against Queen *Anne*, 737, 8. 748.
FEUILLADE, Duke *de*, besieges *Turin*, 831. 900, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.
FINCH, characterised, 269, 270. 576. made a Peer, 671.
FIRMIN, *Thomas*, a zealous Arrian, 404, 5. 410.
FISHER discovers the Assassination-Plot, 315.
FLANDERS, see NETHERLANDS.
FLERUS, Battle of, saves *England*, 99. 102.
FLORENCE, great Duke of, owns King *William*, 247. 626, 7. 786.
FOLEY, Mr. opposes the Court, 208. chosen Speaker, 276. chosen a second time, 307. for a *Land-Bank*, 326.
FOURBIN, Cardinal, 138.
FOURBIN, Admiral, sent to *Scotland*, 991, 2.
FOWLER, Dr. made Bishop of *Gloucester*, 145.
FRAMPTON, Bishop of *Gloucester*, deprived. 10. 145.
FRANCE, see *French*.
FRAZER, sent from *St. Germains* to *Scotland*, 706. his discovery to the D. of *Queensberry*, 707, 8. 9. 735, 6, 7, &c.
FREEMAN, a leading Tory, 968.
FRENCH, *England* proclaims War against them, 22. the Joy in *France* upon the Report King *William* was killed at the *Boyne*, 95. the *French*, gain the Battel of *Flerus*, 9. beat the Confederates at Sea, 100. alarm the *English* Coast, 102. 3. take *Mons*, 139. design to invade *England*, 176. their Fleet defeated before *La Hogue*, 178, 9. their intrigues to divide the Allies, 211. their successes on the *Rhine*, 212. in *Spain* 213. & in *Piedmont* 213, 14. they suffer by famine, &c. 217.

217. gain the Battle of *Steenkirk* and *Namur*, 184, 5. gain the Battle of *Landen*, 215. take *Charleroi*, 216. take ſome of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, 218, 19, 20. offer the Duke of *Anjou* to *Spain*, 235, they try to get a Peace, 216. 235. break their *Cartel*, but forced to obſerve it, 289, 293. 314, 15, 17, 321, 336, 38, 9. 340. 1. 2. new Attempts by them for a Peace, 338, 9. 343, 4, 370. they ſend the Prince of *Conti* to *Poland*, 379, 380. they conclude a Treaty at *Ryſwick*, 381, 3, 4, 5. 7, 8. their groſs flattery of their King, 393. they treat for a Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, 427, 8, 9. 443, 4, 5, 6, 7. break their Treaty upon the King of *Spain*'s Death, 484, 5, 6. corrupt a Party in Parliament, 498, 9. negociate with the *States*, & other Princes, 502, 3. 521. 559. own the Pretender King of *England*, 567, 8. join the Elector of *Bavaria*, 678. beat the *Germans* and take *Augsburg* and *Landau*, 683, 4. diſcover the Duke of *Savoy*'s Deſigns, 694. ſeize on his Troops in their ſervice, *ibid.* are beat at *Blenheim*, 762. their Credit low, 819, 820. 929, 30. 998. their preparations in 1706. 886, 7. forced to raiſe the Siege of *Barcelona*, 888. beat at *Ramellies*, 894. loſe many Towns, 895, 6, 7, 8. are defeated at *Turin*, 904. evacuate *Italy*, 936. try for Peace, 939, 941. their Succeſs at *Stolhoffen*, 944. ſink many capital Ships at *Toulon*, 947. threaten the *Swiſs* on account of *Neufchatel*, 956. their Deſcent in *Scotland* unſucceſsful, 991, 2, 3, 4, 5. ſurprize *Ghent* and *Bruges*, 1000, 1. beat at *Oudenarde*, 1001, 2. and at *Wynendale*, 1006. loſe *Liſle*, 1007. 1011. negotiate for Peace, 1046, 7, 8, 9. their King will not ratify the Preliminaries agreed on, 1050. examples of his perfidy, 1051, 2, 3. of their miſery, 1054. loſe the battel

of *Malplaquet*, & *Tournay*, & *Mons*, 1056, 7, 8. further Negotiations, 1089, 1090, 1, 2. send Ministers to *Gertruydenberg*, 1093, 4. nothing concluded, 1095. their Preliminaries in 1711, 1150. their Proposals at *Utrecht*, 1187, 8. 1190. several of their Royal Family die suddenly, 1188. they beat the Earl of *Albemarle* at *Denain*, 1209. take *Marchiennes* and *Quesnoy* and *Douay*, *ibid.* their Princes of the Blood renounce all Right to the Crown of *Spain*, and King *Philip* to the Crown of *France*, 1211, 12. they deliver up *Dunkirk* to be demolished, 1207. 1218. their Treaty with *England* & the *States*, 1223, 4. their Treaty of Commerce with *England*, 1224, 6, 7, 8. they send the Pretender away to *Lorrain*, 1223, 4.

FRIBOURG restored to the Emperour, 384.

FRIEND, in the Plot of Invasion, 329, 30, 1, 2, absolved at *Tyburn*, 332.

FROST, a hard one, 1013, 14.

G

GAETA, see CAYETA.

GALLAS, Count, the Emperor's Ambassador, ordered out of *England*, 1150.

GALWAY, Earl of, (see ROUVIGNY) sent to *Savoy*, 337, 8. General in *Portugal*, 775. 832. loses his Arm at *Badajos*, 841, 2. takes *Alcantara*, 882, 3. marches into *Spain*, 883. takes *Ciudad-Roderigo*, 889. comes to *Madrid*, 890. loses the Battle of *Almanza*, 942, 3, 8, 9, 950. returns to *Portugal*, 953. 976. his Conduct censured by the House of Lords, 1108, 9, 10. 1114, 15.

GARRARD, Sir *Samuel*, 1068, 1070.

GENTRY, advice to them about their Education, principles &c. 1280, 1, 2, 3, &c.

GAULTIER, Abbot, 1150, 1.
GENOA, bombarded, 250.
GEORGE, Prince. See DENMARK.
GERMANY, Campaigns there, 52, 188, 212, 245, 291, 627. 633. 677, 8. 758, 9, 60, 822, 3, 4, 830. 895. 944. 954. 1009. 1055. 1105. 1141. 1147.
GERTRUIDENBERG, Conferences there, 1093, 4, 5. 1202.
GHENT, ſurpriſed by the French, 1000. retaken by the Allies, 1013.
GIBRALTAR, taken by Sir *George Rook*, 772, 3. beſieged by the *French*, 778, 9. the Siege raiſed by *Leak*, 821, 2.
GINKLE, General, 126. 140. 149. takes *Athlone*, 150. gains the Battle of *Aghrem*, and reduces *Ireland*, 151, 2. 3. 4. 5. made Earl of *Athlone*, 156. See ATHLONE.
GLASGOW, Dean of, ſent to King *William* from the Epiſcopal Party in *Scotland*, 43.
GLENCOE, Maſſacre there, 171. enquired into by the Parliament, 299, 300, 310.
GLOUCESTER, Duke of, put in a method of Education, 403, 4. his Death and Character, 470, 1, 2.
GODOLPHIN. Mr. in the Treaſury, 7. made Lord Treaſurer by Q. *Anne*, 606. 688. 720. 733. 788, 793, 4, 6. declares for the Whigs, 846. 966, 7. 1030, 31. raiſes the publick Credit, 870. his Zeal for the Union, 917, 18. 922. 928, 9. prevails to have Mr. *Harley* diſmiſs'd, 982, 3. 1031, 2. 1084. 1096. is himſelf turn'd out, and attack'd by the New Miniſtry, 1110. 1125, 6. 1137, 8. his Death & Caracter 1215, 16.
GOODMAN, Evidence as to the Plot of Invaſion, bribed to abſent on *Fenwick*'s Trial, 335. 351, 2.

GORDON, Duke of, Governour of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, maintains it for K. *James*, 40.
GOULD, Judge, 726.
GOWER, *Lucon*, 608. made a Peer, 671.
GRAFTON, Duke of, killed at the Siege of *Cork*, 115.
GRAHAM, Brother to Lord *Preſton*, 132.
GRANDVAL undertakes to kill K. *William*, 181, 2. is executed, and confeſſes it, 183.
GRANVILL, Mr. 608. made a Peer, 671.
GREGG, his Correſpondence with *France*, 980. is condemned and executed, 981, 3, 6.
GREYDON, Admiral, commands a Squadron in the *Weſt-Indies*, 700. attempts *Placentia* unſucceſsfully, 701. 721.
GROVE, Dr. made Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, 145.
GUELDER-MALSEN, Deputy of the States, 632.
GUILFORD, Lord, 525.
GUERNESEY, *Finch*, Lord, 1120. See FINCH.
GUISCARD, his Attempt on Mr. *Harley*, 1122, wounded in Council, 1123. dies of his Wounds, 1124.

H

HABEAS CORPUS Act the Miniſtry indemnified for breaking it in time of danger, 126, 196.
HADINGTON, Earl of, a Promoter of the Union. 913.
HAGUE, a Congreſs of Princss there, 136. Negotiations there for Peace, 1047, 8, 9, 1050.
HALL, Dr. made Biſhop of *Briſtol*, 145.
HALLIFAX, Marquis of, made Privy-Seal, 6. is attacked in the Houſe of Lords, and quits the Court, 64. heads the oppoſition, 199. his Death,

Death, 285, 6.
HALLIFAX, Lord, (see MONTAGUE) 491. 506. impeached by the Commons, 513, 529, 30, 1. his Anſwer, *ibid.* acquitted by the Lords, 541. 612. 733. his Project for a publick Library, 874, 5. argues for the Union, 922. 974. 1043.
HAMBURGH, a ſedition there quelled, 960, 1.
HAMDEN, adviſes a Clauſe in King *William*'s Speech, 13.
HAMILTON, Duke of, Preſident of the Convention in 1689, 38. 44. is Commiſſioner of Parliament, 46, 7, 8, 9. refuſes it in 1690, 117. is Commiſſioner in 1693, 230, 1. his Death and Character, 285.
HAMILTON, Duke of, his Son, 620, 22. 745. 792. vehement againſt the Union, 914. oppoſes the Duke of *Queensberry*, 1031. made Duke of *Brandon*, 1161. refuſed to be admitted by the Houſe of Lords, 1162, 3. made Kningt of the Garter, 1212. appointed Ambaſſadour to *France*, 1211, 12. killed by Lord *Mohun* in a Duel, 1212, 13.
HAMILTON, Dutcheſs of, infuſes jealouſies into the Presbyterians, 912.
HAMILTON, General, King *William*'s humanity to him at the *Boyne*, 113.
HANMER, Sir *Thomas*, 968.
HANOVER, Duke of, quits the *French* Intereſt, 159. 440. made an Elector, 440. 623.
HANOVER, Dutcheſs or Electreſs of,) propoſed to be named in the Succeſſion, 28. 29. 472. is named, 524, 5. 611, 12. a further ſecurity for their Succeſſion, 660, 1, 2. Deſigns to invite her over, 809, 10. debated in Parliament, 853, 4, 5. a Regency in caſe of abſence, 856, 7, 8, &c. her Succeſſion *guarantee'd* 1039, 40. 1180, 1, 2, 3, 4. 1215, 19.

HA-

HANOVER, Elector of, her Son, has the Garter sent him, 525. surprizes the Dukes of *Wolfenbuttle* and *Saxe Gotha*, 623, 4. commands the Army on the *Rhine*, 954, 5. 1009. 1055. his Minister's Memorial against the Treaty with *France*, 1153.

HANOVER, Electoral Prince of, marries the Princess of *Anspach*, 951. has Precedence in the House of Lords, by Act of Parliament, 1164. 1170.

HARBORD, Mr. 189.

HARCOURT, *Marechal de*, 1054.

HARCOURT, Sir *Simon*, 608. draws the Act of Union very artfully, 922. adheres to Mr. *Harley*, 968. lays down with him, 983. Council for *Sacheverel*, 1073. made Attorney-General, 1097. and Lord-Keeper, 1098.

HARDY, Captain, 645.

HARE, Dr. 1189.

HARLAY, President of the Parliament of *Paris*, first Plenipotentiary at *Ryswick*, 383.

HARLEY, Mr. opposes the Court, 208, 9. 326. is chosen Speaker, 491. proposes conditions of Government, 522, 3. 562. is chosen again, 648. 756. is made Secretary of State, 756. 925. sets up independent of Lord *Godolphin*, 965, 6, 8, 9. 973, 7, 9. 980, 1, 2. lays down his Employment, 983. his Spies ill chosen, 981, 4, 5. contrives a change of Ministry, 1084, 5. 1096, 7, 8. promotes Enquiries into Abuses, 1115. is stabbed by *Guiscard*, 1122, 3, 4. is made Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*, 1128. 1148. See OXFORD.

HARO, 642, 3.

HARRIS sent by King *James* to assist in the Assassination, 317.

HAVERSHAM, Lord, his saying at a Conference, 538. it raises great Contests, 539. 552. his Speech,

Speech, 852, 3. 974.
HEDGES, Sir *Charles*, 576. Secretary of State, 607.
HEIDELBERG, taken by the French, 212.
HEINSIUS, Penſioner, 629, 1054, 1202.
HERBERT, Admiral, made Earl of *Torrington*, 8. See TORRINGTON.
HERVART, his account of the Duke of *Savoy*, 693.
HERVEY, Mr. made a Baron 671.
HESSE, Landgrave of, 188, 210, 212. 440, 465.
HESSE, a Prince of, 371. 770. Governour of *Gibraltar*, 773. his brave defence of it, 778. goes with King *Charles* to *Catalonia*, 833. killed in attacking Fort *Montjui*, 837, 8, 9.
HESSE, a Prince of, defeated by Count *Medavi*, 905, 6. 949.
HICKS, Dr. 1195.
HIGH-CHURCH, the Diſtinction between it and *Low-Church* when begun, 478, 9. 676.
HILL, General, his Expedition to *Canada*, 1144, 5.
HOADLEY, Mr. his Character and Writings, 1069, 70.
HOCHSTET, a memorable Battel there, 762, 3. See *Blenheim*.
HOLLAND, Sir *John*, 733.
HOLSTEIN, Duke of, 440, 466, 7, 8. killed in the battel of *Cracou*, 638.
HOLT, Sir *John*, made Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, 8. refuſes the great Seal, 464. his behaviour in the affair of *Ailesbury*, 726, 7. 812. 936. his Death and Character, 1078.
HOOPER, Dr. 546. is made a Biſhop, and oppoſes the Union, 920. ſpeaks for *Sacheverel*, 1079.
HORN, Count of, abandons *Dixmuyde* & *Furnes*, 187.

HORNECK, Dr. 615.
HOUGH, Dr. made Bishop of *Oxford*, 145.
HOW, *John*, Mr. 649, 650, 658. 666.
HUNGARY, Wars there with the *Turks*, 156, 189, 251, 298, 340, 389. a Peace, 390, 91. the *Hungarians* revolt, 558. 682. 781, 2. an accommodation treated without success 783. Campaigns there, 842. 884. 937. 1018. 1065. all matters accommodated, 1127.
HUNTINGTON, Earl of, 525. his Bravery, 630, 1.
HUTTON, Dr. Physician to King *William*, gives two remarkable Instances of his equality of temper, 113.
HUY taken by King *William*, 244.

I

JAMES II. King, a Party forming for him in *England*, 20. his Great Seal found in the *Thames*, 30. his conduct at the *French* Court ruins his Affairs, 31, 2. goes to *Ireland*, ibid. Cabals in *Scotland* in his favour, 32. 3. forced to raise the Siege of *Londonderry* 35. and *Inniskillin*, 36. some Whigs in his Interest, 61. 65. his conduct in *Ireland*, 89, 90, 94. behaviour at the *Boyne*, 96, 7. leaves *Ireland*, 98, slighted in *France*, 109. his Partisans in *Scotland* dispersed, 117. Plots there in his favour discovered, 119, 20. he intends a Descent on *England*, 176. in a Plot to assassinate King *William*, 183. the Abjuration of him not carried, 196. *Middleton*'s proposition to him 234. his Declaration, *ibid.* *Charnock* and the Earl of *Ailesbury* sent to him, 282, 330. he grants a Commission to attack King *William*'s Person, 316 17. is ready to invade *England*, 317, 18, 320, 21. left out of the Treaty at *Ryswick*,

wick, 384, 388, 9. his Death and Character, 563, 4, 5, 6. 1305.
JEFFERIES, Lord, 525.
JEKYLL, Sir *Joseph*, 733. a Manager in *Sacheverell's* Trial, 1072.
JERSEY, Earl of, 462, 3. 504, 6, 8, 13. 612. turned out, 756. employed in treating with *France*, 1149. his Death, *ibid.*
INGOLSTAD, a ſtrong place in *Bavaria*, 760. 764.
INNISKILLIN, Siege of, 36.
JONSTOUNE, Secretary for *Scotland* 166, 177, 303. 787. made Lord Regiſter, 789. 796.
JOHNSTOUNE, Sir *Patrick*, 916.
JONES, an Iriſhman, hired to murder K. *William* 106.
JONES, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, 435.
JOSEPH, King of the *Romans*, takes *Landau*, 633. 766. ſucceeds *Leopold* his Father as EMPEROR, 828, 9. his ſeparate Treaty for evacuating *Italy*, 936, 7. is Cauſe of diſappointing the Deſign upon *Toulon*, 941, 6, 8. *Naples* reduced to his Obedience, 952, 3. his Death, 1127.
IRELAND, the War there, after the Revolution, 32. to 37. 89. to 98. waſted by the Rapparees and Soldiers, 116. 129. reduced by *Ginkle*, 149, 150, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. a Parliament there, 165. 226, 7. another in 1695, 304. Truſtees of the forfeited Eſtates there, 561, 2, 3. 579, 580. 712. Whig and Tory prevail there, 711. the Papiſt's Eſtates ſplit by Act of Parliament, 713, 14, 15. the Proteſtants divided, 711, 849. and the Clergy there, 849. 1044.
IRISH, deluded by their Prieſts neglect the pardon offered by K. *William* 108. diſſatisfied with the French, 152, 3, 4. They capitulate, 154.
IRONSIDE, Dr. made Biſhop of *Hereford*, 145.

ITA-

ITALY, Campaigns there, 160, 191, 213, 294, 337. 552, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. 679. 682. 830, 1. 883, 4. evacuated by the *French*, 936, 7.
JUDGES, well chosen 8. a Bill to make their Salaries for Life 165. how they should be chosen, 1312, 13.
JUSTICES, Lords, during K. *William*'s absence, 286.

K

KECK, Commissioner of the Great Seal, 5.
KEISERWAERT, Siege of, 52, 626, 7, 8.
KEITH, *George*, leaves the Quakers, 476, 7.
KEITH, in a Plot, 736, 7.
KEN, Bishop, persuades the Clergy to take the Oaths, but does not take them himself, 11.
KENNET, Dr. confutes *Atterbury* 543.
KENT, Earl of, made Lord-Chamberlain, 756. made a Duke, 1084. has the Garter, 1212.
KEPPEL, made Earl of *Albemarle*, 429.
KEYS, in the Assassination-Plot, 327, 8.
KID, sent against Pirates in the *East-Indies*, 452. turns Pirate, 453. taken and hanged, 513, 14. 27, 29.
KILLIGREW, in the Admiralty, 197.
KING, Dr. Archbishop of *Dublin*, 1068.
KING, in the Assassination-plot, 327, 8.
KING, Sir *Peter*, a Manager in *Sacheverell*'s Trial, 1072.
KIRK, 35.
KNIGHTLY, views the ground for attacking King *William*, 316. condemned and pardoned, 333.

L

LAKE, Bishop of *Chichester*, absents from Parliament, 10. is deprived, 143, 4, 5.

LA-

LAKE, Sir *John*, see LEAK.
LANDAU, taken by the *Germans*, 627, 633. retaken by the *French*, 684. taken by the *Imperialists* again, 765, 6, 71.
LANDEN, Battle of, 214.
LANDRECY, beſieged, 1209.
LANIER, 1111.
LA RUE diſcovers the Aſſaſſination-Plot, 315, 16, 17, 18.
LAW of *England*, a propoſal for reforming it, 1300, 11.
LAUSUN commands the *French* Troops ſent to *Ireland*, 32. his ill conduct there, 115, 1161.
LEAK, Sir *John*, 778. raiſes the Siege of *Gibraltar*, 821, 2. and of *Barcelona*, 882. 888.
LEEDS, Duke of, 296. acquitted of his Impeachment, 541.
LEEFDALE diſappoints an intended Aſſaſſination of K. *William*, 182.
LEIPSINGEN, an Action there, 1005, 7.
LEGANEZ, Marquis, clapt up, 833.
LEOPOLD, the Emperor, loſes *Belgrade*, 123. beats the *Turks*, 157. a great Victory over them near *Belgrade*, 389. makes the Peace of *Carlowitz*, 390, 1. ſecretly conſents to the *Partition Treaty*, 444, 5. 504, 5. begins the War with *France* in *Italy*, 510. 552, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. refuſes to own the Pretender, 568. is in great diſtreſs, 677, 8, 9, &c. 681, 2, 3, 4. 756, 7. 8. the Duke of *Marlborough* ſaves the Empire, 758, 9. &c. the Emperor continues the War in *Hungary*, 781, 2, 3. his Death and Character, 827, 8.
LERIDA, taken by the D. of *Orleans*, 949.
LESLEY, Author of the *Rehearſal*, 1068, 9.
LEVINGSTON defeats the *Highlanders*, 117. his ſhare in the Maſſacre at *Glencoe*, 171, 390.

LEXINGTON, Lord, sent Ambassador to *Spain*, 1211.
LIBRARY, a publick one designed, 874, 5.
LICHTENSTEIN, Prince of, a Favourite to King *Charles* of *Spain*, 831. 880. 891, 2.
LIEGE, Factions there, 212. 625, 6.
LIMERICK, Siege of, 109. raised, 112. capitulates, 154.
LINDSAY sent from K. *James* to *Scotland*, 33. 738.
LISLE, besieged, 1002, taken, 1007, 1011.
LIVONIA, opressed by the Swedes, 441. attack'd by K. *Augustus*, 442.
LLOYD, D. see his Character &c. in first part. is made Bishop of *Worcester*, & pretends to propheey, 391, 2.
LLOYD, Bishop of *Norwich*, absents from Parliament, 10. is deprived, 143, 4, 5. 349.
LONDON, got an ill opinion of the King, 73. the Lieutenancy in Tory hands, 76, 7. dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Commons, 533. united for the King, 572. Tories brought in again, 1100.
LONDONDERRY, Siege of, raised, 35.
LONSDALE, Viscount, 506.
LORRAIN, Duke of, commands the Imperial Army, 52. his Dutchy restored by *France* 388. desired to remove the Pretender out of his dominions, 1245, 6.
LOTHIAN, Marquis of, 1030.
LOUVOIS, secretly an Enemy to K. *James*, 32. engages *Grandval* to Assassinate K. *William* 181. his Death, 182.
LOWICK is in the Assassination-Plot, 333.
LUNENBURGH, Duke of, 467.
LUNT, some tried on his Evidence, 270, 71, 2. 3.
LUXEMBURGH, Duke of, gains the Battle of *Fleurus*, 99. attacks *Waldeck* in marching off, 148.

143. contributes to a design of assassinating K. *William* 182. gains the battle of *Steenkirk*, 185. and of *Landen*, 214. his Death, 287.
LUZARA, a Battle there, 637.

M

MACCLEAN, Sir *John*, his account of a Plot, 735, 6, 9. 745, 6, 7.
MACCLESFIELD, Earl of, sent to *Hanover*, 525.
MACDONALDS, of *Glencoe*, 168, 9, 170.
MACKAY commands in *Scotland*, 50. his Services in *Ireland*, 150. 156. killed at *Steenkirk*, 186.
MADRID, forsaken by K. *Philip*, 889, 90. he returns to it, 891.
MAINTENON, Madame *de*, 181, 2. 211, 412, 13, 483, 4. 905. 1051, 53.
MALPLAQUET, Battel, 1057, 8.
MANCHESTER, Earl of, Ambassador in *France*, 482. leaves that Court, 567, 8.
MANSEL, Sir *Thomas*, 756. 983.
MANSFIELD, Count, 636. 683.
MANTUA, Duke of, 510. 553, 6.
MANWARING, Dr. his notions for absolute power condemned, 1080.
MARCHMONT, Earl of, promotes the Union, 913, 14.
MARIES, ST. See, ST. MARIES.
MARLBOROUGH, Earl of, takes *Cork* and *Kinsale*, 114. 163. is dimiss'd, 172. sent to the *Tower* on a forged Accusation, 195. discontent, 163. Governour to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, 403. 505, 6. sent to *Holland* on Queen *Anne*'s Accession, 601, 2. made Capitain-General, 606. 610, 12. 629, 30. takes *Venlo*, *Ruremonde*, *Stevenswaert*,

waert, and *Liege*, 630, 31. eſcapes from a *French* Party, 632, 3. beloved in *Holland*, ibid. made a DUKE, 633. has Thanks from both Houſes of Parliament, *ibid.* loſes his only Son, 676. takes *Bonne*, *Huy*, *Limbourg*, *Guelder* and all the *Condros*, 677, 8, 9, 680. his ſecrecy in conducting his Deſigns, 755, 7. routs the *Bavarians* at *Schellenbergh*, 758, 9. joins Prince *Eugene*, 760, 1. the Victory at *Blenheim*, 762, 3. is made a Prince of the Empire, 764, 5, 6, 7, his Negociations at ſeveral Courts, 768. 788. 796. diſappointed by the Pr. of *Baden*, 822, 3. breaks through the *French* Lines, 825. calms the Diviſions in *Holland*, 827. goes to the Courts of *Vienna*, *Berlin* & *Hanover*, 829, 30. his conduct araigned, 852. 866, 7. his Victory at *Ramellies*, 894. reduces all *Flanders* and *Brabant*, 895. takes *Oſtend*, *Menin*, *Dendermond* and *Aeth*, 896, 7, 8. 944. 961. he is undermined at Court, 964, 5. 969. 978, 9. removes Mr. *Harley*, after a hard ſtruggle, 981, 2, 3. 997. 1000. his Victory at *Oudenarde*, 1001, 2. ſix thouſand of his Men beat twenty thouſand *French*, 1006, 7. forces the *French* Lines, 1010. *Liſle* taken, 1011. and *Ghent* and *Bruges*, 1013. 1026. he is Plenipotentiary for treating with *France*, 1048. takes *Tournay*, 1056, 7. his Victory at *Blareignies*, 1057, 8. takes *Mons*, 1059. 1084, 1087. takes *Doway* and *Fort Eſcarp*, 1088. rejects King *Philip*'s Offers, 1091. takes *Bethune*, *Aire*, and *St. Venant*, 1105. 1110. has not the uſual Thanks of Parliament, 1117. carries the Queen a ſurrender of his Lady's Places, *ibid.* paſſes the *French* Lines, 1142. and takes *Bouchain*, 1143, 4. retires from Council, 1154. turned out of all his Employments, 1166. his Preſent from the *Jews* voted illegal, 1173, 4. and the Two and a half

per

per Cent. from the foreign Troops, *ibid.* Libels againſt him, 1174. Pr. *Eugene*'s ſaying as to one of theſe, *ibid.* Suits againſt him, 1175. his Innocence apparent, 1172, 3. 1216, 17. on Lord *Godolphin*'s Death he goes abroad, 1216.

MARLBOROUG, Counteſs of, and afterwards DUTCHESS, (ſee CHURCHIL) is forbid the Court 174. is reflected on for favouring the Whigs, 852. her Authority quoted, 855. She introduces *Mrs. Masham*, who undermines her, 965, 6. her intereſt at Court declines, 966. 983. is again in favour, 983. ſhe leaves the Court 1085. and ſends a ſurrender of her Places, 1117. 1210. 1216.

MARSIN, Mareſchal, 759, 761. 763. killed at *Turin*, 903, 4.

MARY, Queen. See QUEEN MARY.

MASHAM, Mrs. undermines her benefactreſs, 965, 6. 1098. made Privy Purſe, 1118. her Husband made a Peer, 1167.

MAINARD, Serjeant, made one of the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, 5.

MAYNE, Duke *de*, neglects to obey *Villeroi* 289.

MEAUX, Biſhop of, 412, 13.

MEDAVI, Count, 905.

MEDINA, Duke of, Viceroy of *Naples*, 557. ſent Priſoner to *Segovia*, & dies, 1104.

MELFORT, Earl of, 50. 738.

MELVIL, Lord, Secretary of State for *Scotland*, 45. zealous for Presbytery, 45, 6, 7, 8. holds a Parliament as Commiſſioner, 117. gives up the Supremacy and the Rights of Patronage, 118. adviſes an Indemnity, 119. has *Dalrimple* joined to him in the Secretary's Poſt, 142. is removed, 165.

MERCI, Count, 1055, 6.

MESNAGER brings Preliminaries from *France*, 1149, 50.
METHUEN, Mr. his Negociations in *Portugal*, 559, 560. 626. 644. concludes a Treaty there, 685, 6, 7, 8. 769.
MIDDLESEX, Earl of, 537.
MIDDLETON, Earl of, Secretary of State, goes over to King *James* with a wise Proposal, 234. 567. 738.
MILITIA, a Bill to take it out of the Crown, 25. 394, 5.
MINAS, *Marquis das*, 953.
MINORCA taken by the *British* Fleet, 1015.
MIRANDOLA, Princess of, 554.
MODENA, Duke of, 554. 682.
MODERATION blamed, & exclaimed against 753.
MOHUN, Lord, killed in a Duel with D. *Hamilton*, 1212, 13.
MONKTON, Mr. a bold saying of his, 499.
MONMOUTH, Earl of, made first Commissioner of the Treasury, 7. Instills jealousies of the King, 27. 69. turned out, 77. 366, 7, 8, 9.
MONS taken by the *French*, 139, 140. taken by the Allies, 1057, 9.
MONTAGUE, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 206. 417. made Lord *Hallifax*, 491. See HALLIFAX.
MONTAGUE, Sir *James*, Attorney-General, quits his post, 1097.
MONTGOMERY, Sir *James*, his services to K. *William*, 44. sent with the tender of the Crown of *Scotland*, 44. disgusted, 46. enters into a Plot, 67, 8, 9. discovers it, but will not name his Accomplices, 119.
MONTGOMERY, Lord, 330.
MONTJUI, Fort, taken, 837, 8, 9. 888.

MONTMELIAN, taken by the *French*, 160.
MONTREVEL, Mareſchal, his Cruelty in the *Cevennes*, 696.
MONTROSE, Marquis of, for the Union, made a Duke, 931. oppoſes the Duke of *Queensberry*, 1031.
MOOR, *Arthur*, a creature of *Harley*, 1232.
MORDAUNT, Lord, 536. See MONMOUTH.
MORE, D. Biſhop of *Norwich*, 145. and of *Ely*, 967.
MOREL of *Berne*, his account of a Plot againſt K. *William*, 183.
MORTMAIN, the Statute of, repealed, 734.
MULGRAVE, Earl of, againſt the Court, 199, 200. See NORMANBY.
MUNDEN, misbehaves, & is broke, 640.
MUSCOVY, *Czar* of, dangerous to the *Turks*, 340. his travels, 378, 9. comes to *England*: his Character, 423, 4, 5. Plots in *Muſcovy* call him home, 425. his Wars with *Sweden*, 442. 492, 3. 638. 785. 843, 4. 938, 9. defeats them at *Pultowa*, 1060. makes peace with the *Turks*, 1065. takes all *Livonia*, 1105. War breaks out between him and the *Turks*, 1127, 8. he is in great ſtraits, 1146, 7. 1220, 1. reduces *Finland*, 1222.
MUSGRAVE, Sir *Chriſtopher*, 207, 8. 662. 734. his Death, 816, 17.

N

NAMUR, taken by the *French*, 184. re-taken by King *William*, 288, 9, 290, 1, 2, 3.
NAPLES, Kingdom of, 945, 952. reduced 953.
NARVA, beſieged by the *Czar*, 492, 3. relieved the K. of *Sweden*, 493.
NASSAU, a Prince of, 627, 684.

NATURALISATION of all Proteſtants, 1042. 1210.
NETHERLANDS, *Spaniſh*, put into the Elector of *Bavaria*'s hands, 161. the Campaigns there, before the Peace of *Ryſwick*, 52, 98, 9, 102. 146. 210, 11, 244. 287, 8, 9, 290, 1, 2, 3, 4. 335, 6. 370. in the hands of *France* on the King of *Spain*'s death, 497, 8. Campaigns there, before the Treaty of *Utrecht*, 627, 8, 9. 677, 8, 9, 680. 825, 6. 893, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. 961. 1001, 2, 3, 4 &c. to 1013. 1054, 6, 7, 8. 1087, 8. 1105. 1141, 2, 3, 4.
NEUFCHATEL, its Succeſſion adjudged to the King of *Pruſſia*, 955, 6.
NEVILL, PAYNE, See PAYNE.
NEWCASTLE, Duke of, Privy-Seal, 1125. his Caution in paſſing Publick Accounts, *ibid.* his Death, 1149.
NICE, taken by the *French*, & demoliſhed, 831.
NOAILLES, Duke *de*, 1104.
NOBLEMEN, advice to them, 1291, 2, 3, 4.
NORFOLK, Duke of, the affair of his Divorce, 241, 2, 3.
NORFOLK, Dutcheſs of, 241, 2, 3.
NORMANBY, Marquiſs of, (ſee MULGRAVE) heads the Tories, 503. 525. 608. 611. 613, made Duke of *Buckingham*, *ibid.* See BUCKINGHAM.
NORTHAMPTON, Marquis of, 242.
NORTHEY, Sir *Edward*, 549. 1134, 5. 1193
NOYELLES, a Dutch General, 949.
NOTTINGHAM, Earl of, made Secretary of State, 4. a violent Tory, & Enemy to the Whigs, 5. 6. offers a Bill for Toleration, & another for Comprehenſion, 11. Gives a Scheme of the Prerogative to K. *William*, 25. Inſtills jealouſies of the Whigs, 27. againſt declaring the Acts of the

the Convention valid, but for enacting them, 79. brings in many Tories, 164. 197. diſputes with Admiral *Ruſſel*, 179, 180, 181. 197. 248. ſuſpected, but juſtified, 198. 223. is diſmiſs'd, 236, 240. 274. 574. 583. made Secretary of State by Queen *Anne*, 607. 613. 673. 687, 8. 739. 744, 5, 6, 7, 8. reſigns his Employment, 755. 853. oppoſes the Union, 920. is againſt *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* remaining in the Houſe of *Bourbon*, 1156, 7. carries the *Occaſional Bill*, 1158, 9, 1160. for addreſſing the Queen to treat in concert with her Allies, 1164. oppoſes an Enquiry into King *William*'s Grants, 1199.

O

OATHS, Debates concerning them, 15, 16. 82, 3, 4. 196.

OATHS to confirm Treaties, why now diſuſed, 1237, 8.

OCCASIONAL *Conformity*, a Bill againſt it, 652, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. 717, 18. 19. 798, 9, 800. the whole matter debated in the Queen's preſence, 805, 6. The Bill brought in again by *Nottingham*, 1158, 9. & paſſed without oppoſition, 1160.

OGILBY of *Boyne*, his Commiſſion to Queen *Anne*, 1085.

ONSLOW, Sir *Richard*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, 1025, 6.

OPDAM, 632. 679, 80.

ORANGE, five Princes of, the nobleſt Succeſſion of Heroes, in Hiſtory, 592.

ORDINATIONS, with what care to be made, 1270, 71.

ORFORD, Earl of, (ſee RUSSEL) 374, 417. 452, 54. 512, 13. is impeached by the Commons,

mons, 517, 527. his Anſwer, 528. acquitted by the Lords, 541. 667, 8. his Accounts juſtified, 721, 2. 971. 974. is at the Head of the Admiralty, 1066. is diſmiſt, 1098.
ORKNEY, Earl of, 710. 763.
ORLEANS, Duke of, 693.
ORLEANS, Duke of, his Son, commands in *Italy*, 902, 3, 4. commands in *Spain*, & gains the Battel of *Almanza*, 942, 3. reduces *Arragon* and *Valentia*, 943. takes *Lerida*, 950. and *Tortoſa*, 999. & *Denia*, 1014. his Scheme to ſet aſide King *Philip*, 1188, 9.
ORMOND, Duke of, 585. 607. his Expedition to *Cadiz* and *Vigo*, 641, 2, 3, 4, 5. 6, 7. made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 663. 711, 12, 13, 14, 15. again made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 1098. and Captain-General, 1175. has the ſame Appointments that were voted criminal in the Duke of *Marlborough*, 1192. ordered not to act againſt the French, 1200, 1. 1206. proclaims a Ceſſation and leaves the Confederates, 1206, 7. poſſeſſes *Ghent* and *Bruges*, *ibid.*
OSTERVALD, 957.
OTTOBONI, Pope *Alexander* VIII. his Death, 138.
OUDENARDE, a Battel won there 1000. ſtrong Lines made there by the French, 1004. forced by the D. of *Marlborough*, 1010.
OVERALL, Biſhop, his Book, 407.
OXFORD and *Mortimer*, Earl of, (ſee HARLEY,) 1128. 1148. 1164. 1190. diſowns a ſeparate Peace, in the ſtrongeſt terms, 1201. has the Garter, 1212. 1216.
OXFORD, Univerſity of, gives bad principles to Students, 753. 1281. their Decree in 1683. on abſolute power & hereditary right burnt by the Hangman, 1082.

PA-

INDEX.

P

PAGET, Lord, Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, 189.
PALATINE, Elector, 385, 6. 626. 783.
PALATINES, ten thouſand come to *England*, 1071. 1118. the inviting them over voted a Crime, 1119, 20.
PAPISTS, gently treated at the Revolution, 21. 22. diviſions among them, 412. an Act giving away their Eſtates, 437, 8, 9. another Act againſt them dropt, 873, 4.
PARKER, Sir *Thomas*, ſhines at *Sacheverell's* Trial, 1072. made Chief-Juſtice in *Holt's* room. 1078.
PARKER, in a Deſign to aſſaſſinate King *William*, 182, 330.
PARLIAMENT, *Engliſh*, the Convention turn'd into a Parliament, 9, an Act for taking the Oaths, 15, 16. Act for Toleration, 17. Supplies given againſt *France*, 22. Civil Liſt for a Year, 23. *Chimney-Money* is diſcharged, 24. 600000 *l.* given to the *States*, 26. an Indemnity dropt, 26. the Bill of Rights, 28, 29. 100000. *l.* given to Duke *Schomberg*, 36. Supplies for reducing *Ireland*, 72. Civil Liſt again for a Year, *ibid.* a Corporation-Act paſs'd both Houſes, refuſed the Royal Aſſent, 72, 3, 4, 5. a new Parliament, 76. an Act declaring and making the Acts of the Convention valid, 78, 9. Members corrupted, 80. Civil Liſt for five Years, *ibid.* Debates about an Abjuration of K. *James*, dropt by the King's deſire, 82, 3, 4. Supplies on remote Funds, 85. a new Seſſion, 124. grant four Millions, *ibid.* name Commiſſioners of publick Accounts, 125. Act of Attainder of the Rebels in *Ireland*, 127. an Act re-

veſting Lord High Admiral's Power in Commiſſioners of Admiralty, 129. the Princeſs of *Denmark*'s Revenue made 50000. *l.* a year, 174. the Miniſtry indemnified for breaking the *Habeas Corpus* Act, 196. Abjuration of K. *James* rejected, 196. Supplies on remote Funds, 198. a Committee of both Houſes during the Receſs propoſed, 200. a ſelf-denying Bill paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, rejected by the Lords, 202. the Triennial Act paſs'd both Houſes, refuſed the Royal Aſſent, 202, 3, 4. A new Seſſion, grant the Supplies, 237. examine the Conduct of the Admiralty, 238, a new Seſſion, 254. grant five Millions, and paſs the Act for Triennial Parliaments, 254, 5. both Houſes addreſs on Q. *Mary*'s death, 266. and attend her Funeral, *ibid.* a Bill for Trials of Treaſons, paſs'd the Commons, loſt in the Houſe of Lords, 269, 270, 1, 2, 3, 4. Attempts againſt the *Bank*, 275. *Trevor* expelled, 276. Enquiries into Bribes given by the *Eaſt-India* Company, 276. an Act againſt Sir *Thomas Cook* and others, 277, 8. reaſons for diſſolving this, & calling a new Parliament, 306. rectifie the Coin by recoining all in milled Money, 307, 8. the Act for Trials of Treaſons, 308, 9. and for regulating Elections, 309. complaints of the *Scotch* Act for an *India* Trade, 310. a Motion to appoint a Council of Trade in Parliament, 311. the Aſſaſſination and Invaſion-Plot laid before both Houſes, 323. their Aſſociation ſign'd all over *England*, 325. a Land-Bank erected, but failed, 326, 7. 345. a new Seſſion, 345. provide for ten Millions deficiencies, and grant five Millions for the Year, 346. a Bill of Attainder againſt Sir *John Fenwick*, 347, 8, 9, 350, 1, 2, 3. Practices as to his Diſcoveries examined,

mined, 364, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. a new Seſſion, 395. reduce the Army to 10000. Men, 396. grant the Civil Liſt for Life, 398. eſtabliſh a new *Eaſt-India* Company, 399. 401. a new Parliament, 418. reduce the Army to 7000. Men, all Natives, 419. enquire into Grants of forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland*, 421. appoint Commiſſioners to enquire, 423. a ſevere Act againſt Papiſts, 437, 8, 9. Lord *Somers* attack'd in the Houſe of Commons, 453. acquitted by a great Majority, 454, 458. a Motion to remove *B. Burnet* from the Duke of *Glouceſter* loſt by a great Majority, 454. Report of the Commiſſioners of Enquiry into the Grants in *Ireland*, 454, 5. the Grants are ſet aſide, and Truſtees appointed for ſelling the Eſtates and determining Claims, 456, 7. furious proceedings on this matter, 457, 8, 9. &c. Debates concerning the Biſhop of *St. David*'s, 479, 480, 1. a new Parliament, 486, a *French* Party there, 498, 9. the Commons Addreſs, 499, 500. Partiality in judging Elections, 500, 501. provide for 30000. Seamen, *ibid.* Debates in the Houſe of Lords about the *Partition-Treaty*, 502, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. the Lords Addreſs, 507. a ſecond Addreſs, 509. the Commons Addreſſes, 508, 9. vote 10000. Men and 20 Men of War to aſſiſt the *Dutch*, ibid. Debates in the Houſe of Commons about the *Partition-Treaty*, 511, 12. they impeach ſome Lords concern'd in it, 513, 14, 17. contrary Addreſſes of the two Houſes, 517, 18. the Act of *Succeſſion* paſt, 522, 3, 4, 5. an Act limiting the Privilege of Parliament, 525, 6. Procedings in the Impeachments, 527, 8, 9, 530, 1. the *Kentiſh* Petition, 532. the Petitioners impriſon'd, *ibid.* the Commons declare for a War, 533. retrench of the Civil Liſt, *ibid.* Diſputes between the two Houſes about the Impeachments, 535, 6, 7, 8, 9, 540, 1.

the

the Commons not appearing, the impeach'd Lords are acquitted, 541, 2. a new Parliament 569. for a War, 571. attaint the pr. P. of *Wales*, 573, an Act for abjuring him, 574, 5, 6, 7, 8, 581, 4, 5. Addreſſes of both Houſes to Queen *Anne*, 600, 601. Commiſſioners for publick Accounts, 603, 4. the Union propoſed, 610. the Report of Deſigns to ſet aſide the Queen voted falſe, 611, 12. a new Parliament, 647, 8, 9. Partiality in judging Elections, 649, 650. Supplies for the War, 651. a Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity paſs'd by the Commons, 654. loſt by an alteration of the fines in the Houſe of Lords, 655, 6, an Act ſettling 100000. *l.* a year on Pr. *George*, 658, 9. a further Act to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion, 661, 2. *Rook*'s Conduct examined and juſtified, 663. Enquiry into Lord *Ranelagh*'s Accounts, 665. the Commons Addreſs charging Frauds, 667. anſwered by the Lords, 668, 9. a new Seſſion, 716. the Occaſional Bill paſs'd the Commons, rejected by the Lords, 718. Supplies for the War, 720. Lord *Orford*'s Accounts, are juſtified by the Lords, 721. Commiſſioners of publick Accounts not continued, 723, 4. the Affair of *Ailesbury* creates a diſpute between the two Houſes, 724, 5, 6. an Act for Augmentation of poor Livings, 734. the Lords examine into *Macclean*'s Plot, 739, 740, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. the Commons addreſs, 740, the Lords counter Addreſs, 741. 749. their Opinion concerning the Plot, 748. an Act for raiſing recruits, 750. the Lords addreſs about Juſtices of Peace, 751, 2. A new Seſſion. Supplies for the War, 797. the *Tack* of the Occaſional Bill to a Money-Bill loſt, 798, 9. 800. an Act declaring the *Scots* Aliens, 801, 2, 3. the Occaſional Bill thrown out by the Lords, 805, 6. the Com-

Commons impriſon the *Ailesbury* Men, 811, 13. they are remanded by the Q. Bench on their *Habeas-Corpus*, 811. ſue a Writ of Error in the Houſe of Lords, 812. Commons addreſs the Queen not to grant it, 812, 13. counter Addreſs of the Lords, 815. ſeveral Bills not paſs'd, 817, 18, 19. a new Parliament, 850. great Partiality in judging Elections, 851, 2. Debates about bringing over the next Succeſſor, 853, 4, 5, 861, 2. a Bill for a Regency, 856, 7, 8, 9, 60, 1, 2. ſome Offices excluded the Houſe of Commons, 862. both Houſes addreſs concerning the *Danger of the Church*, 863, 4, 5, 6. repeal the Act declaring the *Scots* Aliens, 868, 9. Act for the amendment of the Law, 871, 2. this Seſſion much applauded, 876. A new Seſſion, agree to the Articles of Union with *Scotland*, 918, 19. 20, 21, &c. Bills offered againſt Importation from *Scotland*, 925, 6. Supplies for the War, 930. the Parliament revived by Proclamation, 931. 969. the Lords enquire into the Conduct of the Admiralty, 971. their Addreſs upon it, 974. they enquire into the Conduct in *Spain*, 975, 6. an Act to encourage Captors of Prizes, 978, 9. the Lords enquire into the Correſpondence with *France*, 984, 5. their Addreſs, 986. the Privy Council in *Scotland* taken away, 987, 8, 9. the Parliament ſupport the Queen upon the *Scotch* Invaſion, 994, 5. a new Parliament, 1025. great Partiality in judging Elections, 1026, 7. large Supplies granted, 1027. a *Scotch* Peer made a *Britiſh* Peer cannot vote for the *Sixteen*, 1028, 9. an Act making Treaſons and the Trial of them the ſame in *Scotland* as here, 1031, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. an Act of Grace, 1040. the *Bank* Fund

Fund enlarged, 1041. A new Seſſion. Supplies for the War, 1066. Dr. *Sacheverell* impeached, 1071, 2, 3, 4 &c. Act for naturaliſing all Proteſtants, 1042. Addreſs to the Queen about conditions of Peace, 1043. Debates in the Houſe of Lords, 1078, 9, &c. *Sacheverel* found guilty, but gently puniſhed, 1081, 2. the Parliament diſſolved, 1097. A new Parliament, 1099. 1106. the Lords enquire into the Conduct in *Spain*, 1107, 8, 9. cenſure the old Miniſtry for it, 1110, 11, 12, 13. the Commons expel a Member for Frauds, 1115, 16. vote the Perſons who invited over the *Palatines* publick Enemies, 1118, 19. their Repeal of the naturalization-Act rejected by the Lords, 1120. an Act for qualifying Members, *ibid.* another for importing *French* Wine, 1121. a Deſign againſt K. *William's* Grants miſcarries, 1124, 5. the Commons vote 35. Millions to be unaccounted for, *ibid.* an Act for fifty new Churches, 1126. and for a *South-Sea* Company, 1128, 9. 1136, 7. the Commons Addreſs, 1138. A new Seſſion, 1154, 5. the Lords Addreſs againſt leaving *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, 1156, 7, 8. the Commons Addreſs, 1157. the Occaſional Bill paſt without oppoſition, 1158, 9, 60. D. *Hamilton's* Patent as D. of *Brandon* determined to give him no Seat in the Houſe of Lords, 1161, 2, 3. an Act of Precedence to all the Houſe of *Hanover*, 1164. the Lords Addreſs to treat in concert with our Allies, 1164. twelve new Peers, 1166, 7. Addreſſes on the Peace, 1169, 70. an Expedient to quiet the *Scots*, 1171. Mr. *Walpole's* Caſe and Cenſure 1172. the D. of *Marlborough* attack'd; and ſome hard Votes againſt him, 1173, 4. Epiſcopacy tolerated in *Scotland*, 1177.

1177. the Presbyterians to take the Abjuration there, 1177,8. an Act restoring Patronages there, 1179. the Commons vote the Advisers of the *Barrier Treaty* publick Enemies, 1181, 2, 3, 4. and that *England* had been over-charged nine Millions in the War, 1185. they punish the Printer of the *States* Memorial, *ibid.* the self-denying Bill lost in the House of Lords, 1186. Supplies given largely, 1198. a Bill for inquiring into K. *William's* Grants, lost, 1198,9. A plan of the Peace laid before them, 1203. 4. Addresses of both Houses upon it, 1204, 5. an Enquiry into the Conferences at *Gertruydenberg* drop'd, 1202. Protests of the Lords expunged, 1205. seven Prorogations, 1219. A new Session, 1222, 3. Addresses on the Peace, 1223. Supplies, the Malt-Tax is extended to *Scotland*, 1229, 30, 31. a Motion to dissolve the Union, 1213. a Bill to render the Treaty of Commerce with *France* effectual, 1231, 2. thrown out by a small Majority, 1233. an Act for mortgaging part of the Civil List to pay a Debt on it of 500000. *l.* 1243, 4. both Houses address to remove the *Pretender* from *Lorrain*, 1245. The Queens Speech at the end of the Session, 1247. the inconveniencies of long Sessions of Parliament, 1303, 4, 5.

PARLIAMENT, *Scotch*, a Convention meets after the Revolution, 38. Duke *Hamilton* chosen President, they pass a Sentence of Forfeiture on King *James*, 42. declare K. *William* and Q. *Mary* King and Queen of *Scotland*, 43. in their claim of Rights insert the abolishing Episcopacy, 42. a Petition of Grievances to be tendered with the Crown, 44. the Convention turned into a Parliament, 46. some high Demands, 47. 49. they are prorogued, 49. an

Act taking away the Supremacy, and the Right of Patronages, 118. Presbytery eſtabliſhed, Chimney-Money granted, an Oath renouncing King *James*, 122. a reconciling Seſſion held by Duke *Hamilton*, 230, 1, 2. they empower the King to protect the Epiſcopal Clergy, 231, 301. the Marquis of *Tweedale* Commiſſioner, 298. they examine into the Affair of *Glencoe*, 299, 300. an Act for a new Company trading to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, 302, 3. the Project of *Darien*, ibid. it is voted a national Concern, 450. the Duke of *Queensberry* Commiſſioner, 448. many angry Votes about *Darien*, 450. 1. 461. diſputes about a new Parliament, 618, 19, 20. the old one met & made ſeveral good Acts, 622. a new Parliament in 1703. 703. the Duke of *Queensberry* Commiſſioner, 704. made Treaſon to attempt an Alteration in the Church-Government, *ibid.* Debates about the Succeſſion, 705. 6. an Act for a Commerce with *France*, 706. 711. they give no Supply, 709. the Settlement in 1641. offered them, to enact the Succeſſion, 787, 8. Marquis of *Tweedale* Commiſſioner, 788. refuſe the Succeſſion till after an Union with *England*, 790. their Succeſſor to be different, 791. the Act for that purpoſe tack'd to a Money-Bill, 791, 2. paſs'd by the Queen, 793, 4. the Duke of *Argile* Commiſſioner, 803. 847. an Act for a Treaty of Union, 848. 908, 9, 910, &c. the Articles debated in Parliament, 911, 12, 13, &c. and agreed to, 918, 19. &c.

PARMA, Duke of, 555.

PATERSON, Biſhop, perſuades ſome to take Oaths with deſign to break them, 118.

PATERSON, Projector of the Expedition to *Darien*, 302. 311.

PATRICK, Biſhop, is made Biſhop of *Ely*, 145. his Death, 967.
PATRONAGES, aboliſhed in *Scotland*, 118. reſtored there, 1179. of the abuſes of them, & of the duty of *Patrons*, 1274, 5, 6.
PAYNE, *Nevil*, Agent for K. *James*, 66. is engaged in a Plot, 66, 7. reſiſts a double Torture in *Scotland*, 120. his Examination in Parliament is dropt, 232.
PEERS, Twelve made at once, to ſerve a turn 1166, 7. Peers of *Scotland*, excluded from voting but by their Repreſentatives, 1162, 3. 1171. 1176.
PEMBROKE, Earl of, his Character, 381. firſt Plenipotentiary at *Ryswick*, 381, 386. 505, 6. made Lord High Admiral, 607. is diſmiſſed, & refuſes a Penſion, *ibid.* 694. Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Preſident of the Council, 1022. again made Lord High Admiral, *ibid.* reſigns that Poſt, 1066.
PEN, a Quaker, in a Plot, 132. 135.
PENDERGRASS, his diſcovery of the Aſſaſſination-Plot, 315, 322, 3.
PERKINS, Sir *William*, knows of the Aſſaſſination-Plot, 316. is in that of an Invaſion 329, 330, 31. abſolved at *Tyburn*, 332.
PERSECUTION unjuſtifiable, 1258, 9.
PETERBOROUGH, Earl of, ſee MONMOUTH and MORDAUNT) commands in *Spain*, 832, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. 880, 1. 888. 892. examined 976. ſent Ambaſſador to *Vienna*, 1107, 8. his Conduct in *Spain* approved by the Houſe of Lords, 1109, 10, 11.
PETTECUM, 1051, 1089. 1091, 2.
PHILIP, V. King of *Spain*, (See ANJOU,) ſettled on that Throne, 484, 5. marries the Duke of *Savoy*'s Daughter, 521, 556. goes over to *Italy*, 635, 6, 7. his Campaign there *ibid.*

his Campaign againſt *Portugal*, 774, 5. his retreat from *Barcelona*, 889. he quits *Madrid*, 890. returns thither, 891. reduces *Valentia* and *Aragon*, 942, 3. his Son acknowledged by the *Cortes*, 1050. the *French* Troops leave him, 1090. he proteſts againſt the Treaty at the *Hague*, 1091. loſes the Battle of *Almenara*, 1101, 2. renounces his Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*, 1211.

PHIPPS, Sir *Conſtantin*, Council for *Sacheverel*, 1073.

PIEDMONT, Campaigns there, 191, 213, 294. 337, 8, 9. 779, 80. 831. 884. 900, 1, 2, 3. 4, 5. 945, 6. 999. 1016.

PIGNATELLI, Pope *Innocent* XII. 138, 9. 337.

PLACENTIA, an Enterpriſe on it, miſcarried, 1144, 5.

PLOT, *Montgomery*'s, 67, 8, 9, 70, 1, 119, 120.

PLOT, Aſſaſſination, 105, 6. 181, 2, 3. 283. 313, 14, 15 &c.

PLURALITIES, & non Reſidence, an abuſe peculiar to the *Church* of *England*, 1276, 7.

PLYMOUTH, Earl of, 525.

POINTY, *French* Admiral, 778. 821.

POLAND. See AUGUSTUS, SOBIESKY, STANISLAUS.

POLIGNAC, *Abbé*, 1093.

PONTCHARTRAIN, 484.

POOR, not on a right foot in *England*, 1301, 2.

POPE INNOCENT, ſucceeded by ALEXANDER VIII. an Enemy to *France*, 137. ſucceeded by INNOCENT XII. 138, 9. and he by CLEMENT XI. 483. who is in the *French* Intereſt, 483. 521. 554. 568. 636. 785. threatens the Emperor and arms, 1015, 17. is forced to ſubmit, 1018. and own King *Charles* of *Spain*, 1059.

POPERY, of its progreſs in *England*, 873, 4. 1195, 6.
POPES, aſſumed a power of diſpenſing with Oaths, & diſſolving Treaties, 1237, 8.
POPOLI, Duke *de*, 837.
PORTER, Chancellor of *Ireland*, 305.
PORTER, Captain, in the Aſſaſſination-Plot, 316, 322, 3. many tried and convicted on his evidence, 327, 8, 9, 330, 1, 4. he diſcovers Practices on himſelf, 350.
PORTLAND, Earl of, (ſee BENTINK,) made Groom of the Stole, 8, 66, 7. the Aſſaſſination-Plot diſcovered to him, 315, 366. his private Negotiation with *Boufflers*, 383, 4. Ambaſſador in *France*, 430. in diſcontent reſigns his Place of Groom of the Stole, 430. 450. negotiates the *Partition-Treaties*, 430. 505, 6. 511. is impeached, but not proſecuted, 513. 529. acquitted, 541. 582, 5, 6. 591.
PORTOCARRERO, Cardinal, 482.
PORTUGAL, *Peter*, King of, enters into the *French* Alliance, 559, 60. is neutral in the War, 626. enters into the Grand Alliance, his Treaty with *England*, 685, 6, 7, 8. Campaigns on his Frontier, 774, 5. 832. 841. 882, 3. 889. his Death, 943.
PORTUGAL, *John* V. King of, firm to his Father's Treaties, 943. marries the Emperor's Siſter, 951, 2. has great Riches from *America*, 1041. 1228. Campaigns on his Frontier, 999. 1054. 1102. agrees to the Treaty at *Utrecht*, 1224, our trade with *Portugal*, 1227, 8.
POWEL, Judge, his opinion in the Affair of *Ailesbury*, 726.
POWLET, Earl of, 1026. 1212.
PRELIMINARYS of Peace agreed on at the *Hague* 1049. further Negociations about them, 1089.

1089, 1090, 1, 2. Preliminaries, ſent over from *France*, 1150.
PRESBYTERIANS, *Engliſh*, a Comprehenſion with them propoſed, 57. does not ſucceed, 60, 61. Diviſions among them, 475.
PRESBYTERIANS, *Scotch*, make high demands, 47. their fury at the Revolution, 55, 56. 121. 142. alienated from King *William*, 166. reconciled to him, 230. are provoked again, 231. courted by both parties, 621. 704. againſt the Union, 911, 12. Methods taken in 1712. to incenſe them, 1178, 9.
PRESBYTERY eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*, 42, 43. 117. 121. 704. made unalterable at the Union, 915, 16.
PRESTON, Lord, ſeized going over to *France*, 131. 2. tried, condemned and pardoned, 134.
PRETENDER, the, favoured by a party in *England*, 525. owned by *France*, by the Pope, *Savoy* and *Spain*, 567, 8. is attainted, 573, an Oath abjuring him, 574, 5, 581. taken by Tories, & how, 608, 9. 661, 2. a Plot in *Scotland* for him, 735, 6, 7, 8, &c. his Expedition from *Dunkirk* thither, 990, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. his Campaign in *Flanders*, 998. called firſt the *Pretender* in the Queen's Speech, 997. his Siſter's Death and Character, 1192. he removes to *Bar le duc*, 1223. 1245, 6. Addreſſes to remove him thence, *ibid.*
PRINCESS ANNE. See DENMARK.
PRINCE GEORGE. See DENMARK.
PRIOR, *Matthew*, 1149.
PRIVILEGES of Members of Parliament, an Act to explain them, 525, 6.
PROTESTANT *Religion*, loſes ground by the Treaty of *Ryswick*, 385, 8.
PRUSSIA, King of, (ſee BRANDENBURG) 624, 5, 8. judged Prince of *Neufchatel*, 955, 6, 7.

France owns his Regal Title, 1049. his Death and Character, 1220, 1.
PYRENEES, Treaty of the, how obſerved by *France*, 1051.

Q

QUAKERS, a proviſion made in their favour, 17. Diviſions among them, 476, 7.
QUEBEC, an Expedition to it, miſcarried, 1144, 5.
QUEEN ANNE, (ſee DENMARK) proclaimed, 599. her Speech to the Council, 599, 600. and to Parliament, 600. purſues King *William*'s Alliances, 601. her Miniſtry, 605, 6, 7, 8. the Princeſs *Sophia* pray'd for, 611. proclaims War with *France*, ibid. falſe Reports of Deſigns to ſet her aſide, 578. 611, 12, 13. takes the *Scotch* Coronation-Oath, 618. her Arms ſucceſsful, 647. creates five new Peers, 670, 1. her Reception of King *Charles* of *Spain*, 690. a Plot againſt her diſcovered, 706, 7, 8. ſhe revives the Order of the *Thiſtle*, 710. Jealouſies of her Miniſtry, 715, 16. ſhe grants the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths to the poor Clergy, 730, 1, 2, 3, 4. *Macclean*'s diſcoveries of the Plot, 735, 739, 745, 6, 7. ſhe paſſes the *Scotch* Act for a different Succeſſor from that of *England*, 792, 3, 4. her Reaſons, *ibid.* comes to hear the Debates in the Houſe of Lords, 805. 855. 869. changes the *Scotch* Miniſtry, 847. publick Credit high, 870. aſſiſts *Savoy*, 884. appoints Commiſſioners to treat of an Union with *Scotland*, 907, 8, 9. her private Favour to *Harley*, 965. ſome Promotions in the Church, 976, 7. ſhe is offended at the complaints made of the Admiralty,

ty, 975. turns *Harley* out unwillingly, 982, 3. calls the P. P. of *Wales the Pretender*, 997. her tender care of Prince *George*, 1020, 21. ſhe takes in more Whigs, 1022. appoints Plenipotentiaries to treat of Peace, 1068. gives an Act of Grace, 1040. Books wrote againſt her Title, 1068. ſecretly favours Dr. *Sacheverell*, 1077. 1081. her Speech at the end of that Seſſion, 1083. Negociations for Peace, 1089, 90, 91, 2, 3, 4. changes her Miniſtry, 1084. 1096, 7, 8. diſſolves the Parliament, 1097. her Speech in a new ſtrain, 1106, 7. ſends Earl *Rivers* to *Hanover*, 1152. her Speech, 1155. turns out the Duke of *Marlborough*, 1166. makes twelve new Peers, *ibid.* her Meſſage to the Lords to adjourn, diſputed, but obeyed, 1167. her Meſſage about the Peace, 1169. orders the Duke of *Marlborough* to be ſued for Money received by her Warrant, 1175. does not confirm the Convocation's Cenſure of *Whiſton*, 1194. orders the Duke of *Ormond* not to act offenſively, 1200. declares herſelf diſengaged from all her Treaties with the States, 1203. lays the Plan of Peace before both Houſes, 1203, 4. *Dunkirk* put into her hands to be demoliſhed, 1207, 8. is poſſeſs'd in a precarious manner, 1218. ſhe could obtain no more of the *French*, after ſhe had put herſelf in their hands, 1215. 1218, 19. 1232, 3. ſhe ratifies the Treaties of Peace & Commerce, 1224. her Anſwer to the Commons Addreſs, 1233, 4. a Debt of 500000. *l.* on the Civil Liſt paid off, 1243. 4. her Speech, 1247. Reflections upon it, 1248, 9. of her gentle eaſy way, 1306.

QUEEN, CATHERINE, of *Charles* II. 779.

QUEEN ELISABETH, was firm & ſtedy in her Counſels, 1086. ſhe ſtudied the true Intereſt of

of the Nation, 1307.
QUEEN MARY, Wife of King *James* II. her Correſpondence in *England*, 132. provided for by the Treaty of *Ryswick*, 384. 398. her bold Repartee to the King of *France*, 389. is attainted by Bill, 574.
QUEEN MARY, II. joint Sovereign with K. *William* III. (ſee ORANGE) 2. made ſo of *Scotland*, 42. the Adminiſtration in her during the King's abſence, 82, 91. her behaviour, 3, 92. her Tenderneſs for King *James*, 88, 9. her Government, 91, 92. her Council, 92. Behaviour in time of Danger, 104. a Miſunderſtanding with the Princeſs of *Denmark*, 173, 4. her care of the Morals of the People, 193. her management of Church Affairs, 224, 228, 229. her good conduct, 255, 56. her Illneſs, 261. her Death and Character, 264, 5. a reconciling Meſſage paſs'd between her and her Siſter, 284. 1305, 6, 10, 15. An extraordinary magnificence at her Funeral. 266, 7.
QUEEN of *Poland*'s Intrigues, 252. 375.
QUEENSBERRY, Earl of, made a Marquiſs and Duke, ſee in firſt part, his Death and Character, 285.
QUEENSBERRY, Duke of, his Son, 448. Sent Commiſſioner to hold a Parliament, & has the Garter, 561. 619. 704. he diſcovers a Plot, 797, 8, 9. his conduct cenſured, 711. 737. 744. is dimiſs'd, but ſcreen'd by an Artifice, 786, 795, 6. again employ'd, 247. 885. fearful of the Union, 917. made Duke of *Dover*, & excluded from the Election of the 16. Peers, 1227, 8, 9. 1030. is Secretary of State, 1031.
QUESNOY, taken by P. *Eugene*, 1207. retaken by *Villars*, 1210.

QUIETISM, diſputes about it, 412, 13.
QUOTA, ſettled between *England* and *Holland*, 140. between *Scotland* & *England* on the Union, 909.

R

RAGOTSKI, at the head of the *Hungarians*, 782, 937.
RAMELLIES, Battle of, 893, 4, 5.
RANELAGH, Earl of, 665, 6. 722. 1125.
RAPPAREES plunder *Ireland*, 116. 126.
RATCLIF, Dr. 261.
RAWLINSON, Commiſſioner of the Great Seal, 5.
REDONDELLA taken by the Duke of *Ormond*, 645.
REFORMATION of Manners, Societies for it, 615, 16, 17.
REINSCHILD, defeats the *Saxons*, 844.
RELIGION of great advantage to Men, 1315, 16. to Societies, 1316, 17. what is not & what is true *Religion*, 1318, 19, 20. 21.
RESISTANCE, juſtified by exemples, 1079, 80.
RHINFELD, beſieged by the *French*, in vain, 210.
RIGA, beſieged by K. *Auguſtus*, 441, 2, 3. relieved by K. of *Sweden*, 493.
RIVERS, Earl of, ſent to *Spain*, 899. Ambaſſador to *Hanover*, 1152. made Maſter of the Ordnance, 1175.
ROBINSON, Dr. Envoy in *Sweden*, 1061. his Character of that King, 1062. made Biſhop of *Briſtol*, Privy-Seal, and Plenipotentiary to *Utrecht*, 1149. declares the Queen diſengaged from her Alliances, 1203. 1240, 1. made Biſhop of

of *London*, 1246.
ROCHESTER, Earl of, his Character, &c. in the firſt Part. reconciled to the King and Queen by Dr. *Burnet*'s means, 223, 4. oppoſes the Court, 240, 267, 8. made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 490. loſes ground with the King, 519, 542, 561, 2. goes over to *Ireland*, his Conduct there, 562, 3. continued in that Poſt by Queen *Anne*, 606. 614. 621. 623. reſigns it, 662, 3. 711. 720. propoſes bringing over the Princeſs *Sophia*, 809, 853. oppoſes the Regency Bill, 859. 60. and the Union, 920. 974. 1044. is made Preſident of the Council, 1097.
ROMANS, K. of the, ſee JOSEPH.
ROOK, Sir *George*, his Succeſs at *La Hogue*, 179. convoys, the *Smyrna* Fleet, and eſcapes with ſome of them, 219, 20, 21. commands a Squadron at *Cadiz*, 314. commands another ſent to the *Baltick*, 466. commands a Squadron to *Cadiz*, 639, 640, 1, 2, 3, takes and deſtroys the Galleons at *Vigo*, 644, 5. his Conduct approved by Parliament, 663, 4. 699. 769. takes *Gibraltar*, 772, 3. fights the Count *de Toulouſe*, 776, 7.
ROOKWOOD, executed for the Aſſaſſination-Plot, 333.
ROOS, Lord, his Divorce, 242.
ROTHES, Earl of, inſtrumental to the Union, 213.
ROUILLE, Preſident, ſent to negotiate at the *Hague*, 1047.
ROUVIGNY, made Earl of *Galway*, his Character, 156. See GALWAY.
ROXBURGH, Earl of, for the Union, 913, 14. made a Duke 931. oppoſes the D. of *Queensberry*, 1031.

ROYAL SOCIETY, 875.
RUMNEY, Earl of, 8. (ſee SIDNEY,) is ſent Lord-Lieutenant to *Ireland*, 226, 7. is recalled, *ibid.* 452.
RUSSEL, Admiral, 99. commands the Fleet, 148. 175. obtains a great Victory at *La Hogue*, 178, 9. diſpleaſed with *Nottingham* 179, 180, 1. much favoured by the Commons, 197. is turned out, 197. again at the head of the Fleet, 236. ſent into the *Mediterranean*, 236. winters at *Cadiz*, 247. returns to the *Mediterranean*, 295, 6. 314. diſappoints the Invaſion in 1696. 320. is made Earl of *Orford*, 667. See ORFORD.
RYSWICK, Treaty of, 381, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9.

S

SACHEVERELL, Dr. his two famous Sermons, 1066, 7, 8. he is impeached for them, and grows popular upon it, 1070, 1. tried in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, 1072. his Defence, 1073, 4, 5. his Trial occaſions Riots, 1076. he is condemned by the Lords, but gently puniſhed, 1081, 2. his Progreſs into *Wales*, 1097.
ST. JOHN, Secretary of War, 968. lays down with *Harley*, 983. made Secretary of State, 1097. 1140. and Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, 1211. See BOLINGBROKE.
ST. MARY'S plundered by the *Engliſh*, 643.
ST. RUTH, Mareſchal, commands for K. *James* in *Ireland*, 149. is killed at the Battle of *Aghrem*, 150.
SANCROFT, Dr. Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, abſents from Parliament, 10. 11. his Conduct, 14. his Death and Character, 258.
SARDINIA taken by the *Engliſh* Fleet, 1014, 15.
SARSFIELD cuts off a Convoy to King *William*, 111. a memorable Saying of his in honour of

of the King, 154.
SAVOY, Duke of, in the Alliance againſt *France*, 123. 160. 191. in a ſecret Treaty with *France*, 246, 294, 337. Reaſons that induced him, 378. 693. joins to drive the *Germans* out of *Italy*, 379. 385. a ſcheme for giving him the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, 429. marries a Daughter to the Duke of *Burgundy*, 339, 340. another to *Philip* King of *Spain*, 556. 568. comes into the Alliance againſt *France*, 691, 2, 3. his Danger and Diſtreſs, 692, 3, 4. betrayed by the Elector of *Bavaria*, 694. 697. loſes almoſt all his Country, 764, 5. 779, 80. 831. the Queen aſſiſts him, 884. 900. 930. he with Prince *Eugene* raiſe the Siege of *Turin*, 903, 4. beſieges *Toulon*, 945, 6. raiſes the Siege, 947. recovers all *Savoy*, 999. takes *Exiles* and *Feneſtrella*, 1016. 1055. 1140. agrees to the Treaty of *Utrecht*, 1224.
SAXE-GOTHA, Duke of, 559. 624.
SAXONY, Elector of, 188, choſen King of *Poland*, 375, 6. See AUGUSTUS.
SCHELLENBERG, the Bavarians defeated there, 758, 9.
SCHOMBERG, Count, made a Duke in *England* with a Preſent of 100000. *l.* from Parliament. 36. goes to *Ireland*, 36. his conduct there, 37, is killed in the Battle of the *Boyne*, 97.
SCHOMBERG, Duke, his Son, commands in *Savoy*, 160. and in *Portugal*, 775.
SCIO, Iſland of, taken by the *Venetians*, but abandoned, 251, 2.
SCOTLAND, a Convention of States there paſs a judgment of forfeiture on K. *James*, & declare for K. *William*, & Q. *Mary*, 42. a riſing in favour of King *James*, 49, 51. another defeated by *Levingſton*, 117. 165. Epiſcopacy aboliſhed

liſhed, & Presbytery eſtabliſhed there, 121. A Plot of the Jacobites in *Scotland*, 66, 7. 118, 19, 20, 140, 1, 2. Changes in the Miniſtry there, 141. 230. the Project of *Darien*, 302. 310, 11, 414, 15. miſcarrying, raiſes great Diſcontents, 447, 8, 9. 561. *Scotland* undervalued by *Seimour*, 610. a Plot there in favour of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, 706, 7, 8, 9, 735, 6, 7, 8, 9. 786, to 797. the Union how treated there, 885, 6. 907, 8, 9, &c. 918. the Cuſtoms there mis-managed, 925, 6. a Privy-Council kept up, 932. affairs there ill managed, 963, 4. taken away by Parliament, 987, 8, 9. an Invaſion from *France* miſcarries, 990, 1, 2, 3, 4. the *Scotch* Members are divided, 1030. Treaſon and Trials of it made the ſame there as in *England*, 1033, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, the *Scotch* Peers declared incapable of further honours, 1161, 2, 3. 1171. they retire from the Houſe of Lords, 1176. but are prevailed with to return, *ibid.* complain of hardſhips, & move to diſſolve the Union, 1229, 30, 31.

Scots, the, divided about ſettling their Government, 39. declare for K. *William* & Q. *Mary*, 42. paſs a Claim of Rights, 42. ſettle at *Darien*, and purſue it at a vaſt Expence, 414, 415. driven from it by the *Spaniards*, 447, 8.

Seafield, Earl of, 709. 913.

Sea, Squadrons at, 100. 101. 148. 178. 217, 18, 19, 220, 1. 247, 8, 9, 250. 295, 6, 7. 341, 2. 372, 3, 4. 402. 466. 558. 639, 640, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. 689, 90, 1, 2. 699, 700, 1, 2, 3. 769, 770, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. 804, 5. 833, 4, 5. 841. 888. 893. 946, 7, 8. 962, 3. 8, 9. 991, 2, 9. 1014, 15. 1019, 20. 1065, 6. 1144, 5, 6.

Seimour, comes into the Miniſtry, 164. oppoſes

poſes the Court, 207. 277. 324. 501. made Comptroller by Queen *Anne*, 608. 610. 669. is diſmiſs'd, 756.
SEIMOUR, made a Peer, 671.
SEIGNELAY, 31. 181.
SHARP, Dr. *John*, made Archbiſhop of *York*, 145.
SHENING, General, 188.
SHERLOCK, Dr. leaves the *Jacobites*, and made Dean of *St. Paul's*, 136. 407, 8, 9.
SHOVEL made Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, 197. is ſent to the *Mediterranean*, 700. 721. 776. commands a Royal Fleet, 899. beſieges *Toulon* by Sea, 944, 5, 7. caſt away upon the Rocks of *Scilly*, 962.
SHREWSBURY, Earl of, is made Secretary of State, 27, 28. much in favour with the King, 28. 86. reſigns 95. heads a party againſt *Caermarthen*, 131. adheres to *Marlborough* againſt the Court, 199. again made Secretary, 236. Practices againſt him, 364, 5, 6, 7, 8. made Lord-Chamberlain to Q. *Anne*, 1084. ſent Ambaſſador to *France*, 1213.
SICILY, an Earthquake there, 193.
SIDNEY, Mr. in high favour with the Pr. of *Orange*, Secretary of State, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Maſter of the Ordnance, 8. made Lord *Sidney*, and afterwards Earl of *Rumney*, *ibid.* See RUMNEY.
SILESIA, the proteſtant Churches reſtored there, 958, 9.
SIMONY, proceedings againſt it, 433, 4, 5. 480, 81.
SIMPSON, a Spy, 66. in a Plot, 67, 68.
SMIRNA Fleet attack'd by the *French*, 220, 21. 239. attack'd by the *Engliſh* in violation of the ublick faith, 1242.

SMITH,

SMITH, a Spy, his Letters, to the D. of *Shrewsbury*, &c. 364, 5, 6.
SMITH, Mr. his Character, is choſen Speaker, 850, 51.
SOBRIESKI, King of *Poland*, beats the *Turks*, 252. his Death, 374.
SOBIESKI, his Son, a party for electing him, 375. ſeized by a party at *Breſlau*, 698.
SOCIETIES, for Reformation of manners, & for propagation of Chriſtianity &c. 615, 16, 17.
SOCINIANISM, its great progreſs, 404, 5, &c. to 410.
SOCINIANS, excepted from the Tolleration, 17.
SOLMES, Count, blamed for the miſcarriage at *Steenkirk*, 186.
SOMERS, Mr. Sollicitor-General, does ſignal ſervice in Parliament, 79. made Attorney-General, and ſoon after Lord-Keeper, 205. his Character, *ibid.* 417. his Expedient againſt Clipping, 281, 2. his account of *Charnock*, 327. his Adminiſtration applauded, 417. attack'd in the Houſe of Commons on *Kid*'s Affair, and cleared by a great Majority, 454, 468. is diſmiſs'd, and his Character, 461, 2, 3, 4. Deſigns againſt him, 506, 7, 513, 14. is heard at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, 515, 16. is impeached, 517, 528, 535. and acquitted by the Houſe of Lords, 540, 41. 733. 750. his Act for the Amendment of the Law, 871, 2. a principal Manager in the Union, 909. 922. 974. made Preſident of the Council, 1022. 1031. is diſmiſs'd, 1097.
SOMERSET, Duke of, 612. 690. 748. 755, 967, 8. 982. 1099.
SOMERSET, Dutcheſs of, Groom of the Stole, 1118.

SOPHIA, Princeſs. See HANOVER.
SOUTH, Dr. writes againſt *Sherlock*, 408.
SOUTH-SEA Company erected, 1136, 7.
SOUTHWELL, Sir *Robert*, Secretary for *Ireland*, 106.
SPANHEIM, Baron, his account of the *French* Councils on the King of *Spain*'s Death, 484.
SPANISH *Netherlands*. See NETHERLANDS.
SPAIN. See CHARLES II. CHARLES III. PHILIP V.
SPRAT, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, 434. 551. his Death, 1246.
SQUADRONE carry the Union in *Scotland*, 913. 14. 923, 4.
STAGE, *Engliſh*, a great corrupter of the Nation, 1298.
STAIR, Earl of, ſee DALRYMPLE, a great Manager for the Union, 908. 913. dies 918.
STANHOPE, Envoy in *Holland*, 502.
STANHOPE, General, his Son, at the Siege of *Barcelona*, 834, 6, 7, 9. procures relief to *Spain*, 840. 879, 80. 950. 978. a Manager at Dr. *Sacheverell*'s Trial, 1072. gains the Battle of *Almenara*, 1101. taken at *Bribuega*, 1103. 1108. 1189. 1245.
STANISLAUS choſen in the room of *Auguſtus* King of *Poland*, and crowned, 784. 843. *Auguſtus* reſigns in his favour, 938. but obliges him to quit the Kingdom, 1061.
STAREMBERG, Count, his March in *Italy*, 695. joins the Duke of *Savoy*, ibid. commands in *Spain*, 978. 1059, 60. defeats K. *Philip*, 1101, 2, 3. delays relieving *Stanhope*, ibid. 1138, 9. routs the Duke of *Vendome*, 1139.
STATES GENERAL, ſee DUTCH.

STEINBOCK, a *Swediſh* General, 1214. 1222.
STEENKIRK, Battle of, 185.
STEWARD, Sir *James*, 1033.
STILLINGFLEET, Dr. Queen *Mary* inclined to make him Archbiſhop, 260.
STRAFFORD, Earl of, unjuſtly attainted, 357.
STRAFFORD, Earl of, ſent Ambaſſador to *Holland*, 1151, 3. 1202. 1206. 1211. has the Garter, 1212. 1215.
STRALSUND, the Siege of, 1147.
STRATSBOURG to be reſtored to the Empire, 343, 4. retained by the *French*, for an Equivalent, 384, 5.
SUNDERLAND, Earl of, in high credit with King *William*, 206, 236, 306. for a Council of Trade named by Parliament, 313. and for a *Land-Bank*, 326, 7. for a large ſtanding Force, 397. retires from Buſineſs againſt the entreaties of his friends & the Kings deſire, 397, 8.
SUNDERLAND, Earl of, his Son, for the Union, 922. made Secretary of State, 1031. 1109. is dimiſs'd, 1096. 1108, 9. 10. 1120.
SWEDEN, King of, his Death, & Character, 381, 2.
SWEDEN, King of, his Son, Mediator at *Ryſwick*, 383. his Coronation, 426. a formidable Alliance againſt him, 440, 441. the *Engliſh* Fleet protects him, and forces *Denmark* to a Peace, 465, 6, 7, 8. he overcomes the Kings of *Denmark* and *Poland*, and the *Czar*, in one Campaign, 492, 3. his War in *Poland*, 558. 624. beats K. *Auguſtus* and takes *Crasow*, 638. 697, 8, 9. procures *Staniſlaus* to be choſen King of *Poland*, 784. drives

drives *Auguſtus* into *Saxony*, 785. his Succeſſes in *Poland*, 843, 4. marches into *Saxony*, 906, 7. forces *Auguſtus* to reſign his Crown, 938. his Character, 940. makes the Emperor reſtore the Churches in *Sileſia*, 958, 9. The *Czar* tries in vain to ſoften him, 1019. he is defeated at *Pultowa*, and flies to *Turky*, 1060. his Character by Biſhop *Robinſon*, 1062, 3. his Troops beat the *Danes*, 1064, 5. a Plague in *Sweden*, 1105, 6. he procures a War between the *Turk* and *Czar*, 1127, 8. tries to break the Peace made between them, 1146, 7. 1214. 1221. his Troops deſtroy *Holſtein*, & burn *Altena*, 1220. He defends himſelf at *Bender* againſt an Army, 1221, 2. is at laſt forced to ſurrender. *ibid.*

SWISS *Cantons*, 956, 7.

T

TAFF, an Evidence in Trials of Treaſon, 270, 271.

TALBOT, Dr. Biſhop of *Oxford*, 922. ſpeaks againſt *Sacheverell*, 1079.

TALMASH, General, 150. 156. killed at *Camaret*, 249.

TALLARD, Mareſchal, 628. defeats the Germans, & takes *Landau*, 684. joins the Elector of *Bavaria*, 758, 761. 763. taken at *Blenheim*, 763. his Letters opened, 980.

TARBAT, Lord, *Middleton*'s Favourite, is made Earl of *Cromarty*, 710. See CROMARTY.

TELEMACHUS, the Fable of, commended, 1190.

TENNISON, Dr. his Character, ſee in Part firſt, made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, 260.

TESSÉ, Mareſchal, ſent to attack *Gibraltar*, 779. 821, 2. leaves *Barcelona*, 888, 9. 937. 1016.
TEST, the nature & deſign of it, 652. 3.
THISTLE, the Order of it revived, 710.
THOMAS, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, 10. deprived, 145.
TILLOTSON, Dr. made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, 143, 4. 224, 5. his Death and Character, 257, 8. 405.
TIRCONNELL, Earl of, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 31. 105. 106. 116. died at *Limerick*, 153.
TIROL, the *Boors* there repel the Duke of *Vendome*, 681.
TOLAND, 548.
TOLERATION, an Act of, paſſed, 17. infringed by the Act againſt occaſional conformity, 718. 1159. 1257, 8.
TORCY, Marquis *de*, 482. 1048, 9, 1050. 1089. 1091.
TORIES taken in by K. *William*, 76, 7. 461, 488. turn'd out, 206. 236. oppoſe the King, 207, 240, 267, 8, 9, 324, 396, 400. 419, 420, 1, 2, 3. 455. 6, 7, 8, 9. their conduct compared with that of the Whigs, 488, 9, 490. 508. 542. 589. 605. taken in by Q. *Anne*, 606, 7, 8. 1096. they triumph at *Sacheverel*'s Trial, 1072, 3, 6, 7, &c. they carry all before them in Court, 1096, 7, 8. in Elections, 1099, 1100. & in Parliament, 1106, 7, 8, 9, 10, &c. of their conduct on ſeveral occaſions, 1297, 8, 9.
TORRINGTON, Earl of, (ſee HERBERT) is firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, 8. fights the *French* at *Bantry-Bay*, 38, delays joining the

the Fleets, 93. accuſed of not behaving well in the fight near *Beachy*, 100. ſent to the *Tower*, 101. try'd by a Court Martial, and acquitted, 128, 9. 746, 7.
TOULON, Deſign on it, 937. miſcarries, 944. 5, 6, 7, 8. 1109, 10, 11.
TOULOUSE, Count *de*, engages *Rook*, 776, 7. 881. 888.
TOURVILLE, a *French* Admiral, defeated by *Ruſſel*, 178, 9. 222.
TOURNAY, taken by the Allies, 1056, 7.
TOWNSHEND, Lord, 922. Plenipotentiary at the *Hague*, his Character, 1048. recalled, 1151. cenſured by the Houſe Commons for the *Barrier-Treaty*, 1180, 82, 3, 4. 1188. 1202.
TREASON, ſee TRIALS. A new law on this head, 1031, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, &c.
TREATY of *Barrier* with the *Dutch*, the firſt, 1179, 80, 1. the ſecond, 1215. 1219.
of *Commerce* with *France*, 1224, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.
of *Comprehenſion*, 57, 8, 9, 60, 1, 2.
of *Partition*, the firſt, 427. the ſecond, 429, 443, 4, 5, 6, 469, 502. 3, &c.
of *Union* with *Scotland*, 848, 885. 907, 8, 9, 10. &c. 927, 8, 9.
TREATY at *Carlowitz*, 390.
at RYSWICK, 383, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.
at UTRECHT, 1153. 1186, 7. 1190, 1. 1223, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. 1231, 2, 3, &c.
TRELAWNY, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, 966.
TRENCHARD, Secretary of State, 206.

TREVOR, Sir *John*, Maſter of the *Rolls*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Great Seal and Speaker, 80. is expelled the Houſe of Commons, 276.
TREVOR, Chief Juſtice, refuſes the great Seal, 464. made a Peer, 1167.
TRIAL of *Aſhton*, 133, 4.
of *Charnock*, 327.
of *Friend*, 329, 330, 1, 2.
of *Keys*, 327, 8.
of *King*, 327, 8.
in *Lancaſhire*, 270, 1, 2, 3.
of *Perkins*, 329, 330, 1, 2.
of Lord *Preſton*, 133.
TRIALS for Treaſons, a Bill to regulate them, 269. 1031, 2, 3, &c.
TRIMNELL, Dr. made Biſhop of *Norwich*, 922. 967. 1079.
TRINITY, great diſputes about it, 406, 7, 8, 9.
TRUMBALL, Sir *William*, 190.
TURIN, Siege of, 884. 900. raiſed, 902, 3, 4.
TURKS, their Wars, 123. 251, 2. 298, 340, 389, 390. make Peace with the Emperor, 390, 1, 2. 637, 8. 683. and with the *Czar*, 1065. 1127, 8. 1146, 7. 1221, 2.
TURNER Biſhop of *Ely*, abſents from Parliament, 10. correſponds to *St. Germains*, 132. is deprived, 144, 5.
TURNHAM-GREEN, a Lane near, deſigned for the Aſſaſſination, 319.
TWEEDALE, Earl of, made a Marquiſs and Chancellor, 165. and King's Commiſſioner, 298. is dimiſs'd, 310. made Queen's Commiſſioner, 788. 803. promotes the Union, 913.

TYRAWLEY, Lord, 1108, 9.

V

VALENTIA declares for King *Charles*, 880, 1. reduced, 943.
VALIERE, a Spy, 984, 5.
VANDERDUSSEN, Plenipotentiary at *Gertruydenberg*, 1093.
VAUBAN, a great Engineer, 293.
VAUDEMONT, Prince of, covers the Siege of *Namur*, 287, 8, 9, 290. 553. 906.
VELASCO, 837.
VENDOME, Duke *de*, 371. 556. 635, 6. 681. 695. 764. 779. 831. 883. ſent to command in *Flanders*, 896, 8. 902. 944. 961. 1008. in *Spain*, 1102. 1138, 9.
VENETIANS, their Wars with the *Turks*, 251. neutral in the *French* War, 554. 626, 7. 786.
VERCEIL, taken by the *French*, 779.
VERNON, Secretary of State, 506. 511, 12, 13.
VERUE, taken after a long Siege, 779, 780.
VETERANI, General, killed by the *Turks*, 298.
VIGO, the Expedition there, 644, 5, 7.
VILLA VICIOSA, Battle of, 1103, 4.
VILLADARIAS, a Spaniſh General before *Gibraltar*, 778.
VILLARS, Mareſchal, repulſed by Pr. *Lewis* of *Baden*, 634, 5. takes Fort *Kell*, 677. repulſed at *Stolhoffen*, 678. yet joins the El. of *Bavaria*, ibid. finiſhes the troubles in the *Cevennes*, 781. 823. 896. 944, 6. 954, 5. 961. 998. 1054, 7, 8. 1088. 1142, 3, 4. 1209.
VILLEROI, Mareſchal, 287, 8, 9, 290, 1, 2. 553. ſurpriſed in *Cremona*, 555. 679, 680. 762, 64, 766.

766. defeated at *Ramellies*, 893, 4, 5.
VIRGINIA, a College founded there, 229, 230.
ULM, 634. 764.
UNION of the two Kingdoms, see *Treaty*, *Parliament*, & SCOTLAND. Reflexions on it, & the motives & causes of it, 927, 8, 9.
UTRECHT, appointed the Place of Congress, 1153. the Congress opened there, 1186, 7. See TREATY.
UXELLES, Marquis *de*, Plenipotentiary at *Gertruydenberg*, 1093.

W

WAKE, Dr. made Bishop of *Lincoln*, his Character, 809, against *Sacheverel*, 1079.
WALDECK, Prince of, commands in *Flanders*, 52. loses the Battle of *Fleurus*, 98. saves *Brussels*, 146. attack'd by *Luxembourg* in marching off, 148. his Death, 287.
WALPOLE, 1165. 1172.
WARRINGTON, Earl of, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 7. dimissed, 77.
WATSON, Bishop of *St. David's*, deprived for Simony, 433, 4. 480, 81. 807, 8.
WEBB, General, his Success at *Wynendale*, 1006.
WEYMOUTH, Viscount, 608.
WHARTON, Lord, 507. 612. 814. he opens pleasantly the debate about the Regency, 856. 922. Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 1022. dismis's'd, 1098. 1245.
WHARTON, Sir *Miles*, refuses a Peerage, to serve a turn, 1166.
WHIGS, jealous of the King's power, 23. 68, 9. Struggle hard for the Corporation Act, 73, 4. &

& for the Abjuration, 83, 4, 5. turn'd out, 76. 85. taken in, 205. 237. loſe their Credit, 409. 488. turn'd out, 461, 488. their conduct in parallel with that of the Tories, 489, 90. 605. 1297, 8, 9. taken in, 846. 1022. turn'd out of Court, 1096, 7, 8. of Citty, 1100. & of Parliament, 1099, 1106, 7.

WHISTON, Mr. 1132, 1135. 1194.

WHITBY, Dr. 11.

WHITE, Biſhop of *Peterborough*, abſents from Parliament, 10. deprived, 145. attends Sir *John Fenwick*, 369.

WILLIAM, III. joint Sovereign with Queen *Mary*, his ſilent & reſerved temper gave diſcontent 3. his favour to *Bentink* and *Sidney*, 8. his firſt Miniſtry, 8, 9. his Speech had an ill effect, 13. grows jealous of the Whigs, 25. propoſes naming the Dutcheſs of *Hanover* in the Succeſſion 28. joint Sovereign of *Scotland*, 42, 44. his Miniſtry there, 45. the Whigs jealous of him, & he of them, 65. refuſes his aſſent to the *Corporation* Act, which gave him great uneaſineſs, 74, 5. takes in Tories, 76, 7. the Adminiſtration in the Queen in his abſence, 82. 91. his diſcourſes to Dr. *Burnet*, 81. 87. his tenderneſs for K. *James*, 88. he is wounded by a Cannon-Ball, 95. gains the Battle of the *Boyne*, 96, 7, 8. Dangers he eſcaped there, 107. a deſign to aſſaſſinate him, 105, 6. beſieges *Limerick*, and forced to raiſe the Siege, 109. 112. his equal Temper, 113. goes to a Congreſs of Princes at the *Hague*, 136. changes his Miniſtry in *Scotland*, 142. fills XV. vacant *Sees*, 145. Dangers that he eſcapes in *Flanders*, 147. *Ireland* reduced, 155. he ſupports *Savoy*, 160. fond of the *Dutch*, 162. care-

careleſs in ſigning Papers, 170. his Breach with the Princeſs of *Denmark*, 173. loſes *Namur*, and the Battle of *Steenkirk*, 184, 5. refuſes his aſſent to the Triennial Bill, 205. takes in Whigs, 205, 6. 236. grows unpopular 209, 210, 11. 226. Prevents the deſigns of the *French* on *Bruxelles*, & *Liege*, 211. loſes the Battle of *Landen*, 214, 15. leaves Church-Affairs to the Queen, 224. founds the *William & Mary* College in *Virginia*, 229, 230. ſends a Fleet to protect *Spain*, 246, 7. another to bombard the *French* Coaſt, 248, 9, 50. his Grief for Queen *Mary*'s death, 261, 2, 3, 4, 5. a Deſign to aſſaſſinate him, 283. reconciled to the Princeſs of *Denmark*, 285, appoints Lords Juſtices, 284. takes *Namur*, 288, 9, 291, 2, 3. a Conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate him and invade *England*, 314, 15, 17. the Conſpirators ſeized, 320, 322, 27, 8, 9, 330, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. ſends a Squadron to the *Weſt-Indies*, 372. concludes a Peace at *Ryswick*, 381, 2 &c. received in Triumph at *London*, which he does not like, 393. much diſſatisfied at the Reduction of the Troops, 396, 419, 420. Keeps 3000. Men more than were provided for by Parliament, 402. ſilences Diſputes about the Trinity, 409, 10. is oppoſed with bitterneſs, 419, 420, 421, 2, 3. the Army reduced to 7000, how modell'd, 423. his Partition Treaty, 427, 8, 9, 443, 4, 5, 6, 7. loſes the Peoples Affections, 460, 473. takes in Tories, 462, 3, 488, 9, 90, 1. makes a Peace between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, 467, 468. his Conduct on the King of *Spains* Death, 486, 7, 8, 9, 490, 1, 2. is very myſterious, 499, 503. 518, 19. owns the Duke of *Anjou* King of *Spain*, 519. is reſerved to his Miniſters, 542. 552. 562,

562. recalls his Ambaſſador in *France*, 568, is in a bad State of health, 569, his noble and wiſe Speech, 570, & 593. his fall from a Horſe, & his Sickneſs, 582. his Death, 585. paſſes the *Abjuration* Act in the laſt hours of his Life, 585. his Character, 587, 8, 9 &c. his laſt Speech, 593, 4, 5. &c. Attempts againſt his Grants, 1124, 5. 1199. His memory vindicated, 611, 12. 616, 17. he found his mistake in changing of parties, 1308.

WILLIAMSON ſeized going over to King *James*, 71.

WINCHESTER, Marquis of, ſee BOLTON, 431.

WIRTEMBERG, Duke of, commands the Daniſh Troops in *Ireland*, 126. joins the Confederates, & aſſiſts in the Battel of *Ramellies*, 893, 4.

WOLFENBUTTEL, Duke of, 137. 465. 559. 623, 4. his Daughter married to K. *Charles* of *Spain*, 951.

WRATISLAW, Count, 757.

WRIGHT, Sir *Nathan*, Lord-Keeper, 464. 751, 2. dimiſs'd, 846.

WICHE, Sir *Cyril*, one of the Lords Juſtices in *Ireland*, 227.

WYNNE, 33.

Z

ZEIHER, an Enemy to Proteſtants, 783,

ZELL, Duke of, 137. 418. 440. 467. 623.

ZOBOR, Count, ſent to the King of *Sweden*, 958.

FINIS.